

# The Revolution.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY: JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE: WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS.

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## The Revolution.

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OFFICE, 49 EAST TWENTY-THIRD ST.

### ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION,

STEINWAY HALL,  
WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY,  
May 12 and 13,

Day and Evening,

commencing Wednesday Morning, at 10 o'clock a. m.

#### SPEAKERS:

E. CADY STANTON,	LUCY STONE,
JULIA WARD HOWE,	MARY A. LIVERMORE,
ANNA DICKINSON,	PHEBE COZZENS,
LILY PECKHAM,	MADAM ANNEKE,
M. H. BRINKERHOFF,	OLIVE LOGAN,
E. OAKES SMITH,	OLYMPIA BROWN,
PAULINA W. DAVIS,	SUSAN B. ANTHONY,
JOSEPHINE GRIFFING,	ERNESTINE L. ROSE,
HENRY WARD BEECHER,	ROBERT PURVIS,
THEODORE TILTON,	O. B. FROTHINGHAM,
FREDERICK DOUGLASS,	H. B. BLACKWELL,
C. C. BURLEIGH,	S. S. FOSTER,

DR. F. R. LEES, of England.

and others, will address the Convention.

#### THE HUTCHINSON FAMILY.

JOHN W. HUTCHINSON has kindly offered the services of the Family, to sing appropriate songs.

#### FRIDAY IN BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC.

WEDNESDAY.—Morning Session, 10 a.m. Free. Evening Session, 7½. Admittance, 25 cts.

THURSDAY.—Morning Session, 10 a.m. Free. Evening Session at COOPER INSTITUTE, Admittance 25 cents.

FRIDAY.—Morning Session at BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC. Free. Evening 7½. Admittance 25 cts.

#### TRACTS ON WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

Mrs. KELSEY will have at her table, at each session of the Anniversary, the Essays and Lectures of Theodore Parker, Henry Ward Beecher, Wendell Phillips, Mr. and Mrs. John Stuart Mill, Mrs. Stanton (on Divorce), Mr. Higginson and others.

Also Vol. II of THE REVOLUTION, containing the "Rights of Woman," by Mary Wollstonecraft, the most remarkable work on the subject ever yet produced, though now almost a hundred years old.

RETURN TICKETS.—Delegates entitled to return tickets over the Erie Railroad will have them furnished on application to SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

#### ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

#### AMERICAN EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.

ADDRESS OF ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

MARCH, 16th, 1869, will be memorable in all coming time, as the day when the honorable George W. Julian submitted a Joint Resolution to Congress to enfranchise the women of the republic, by proposing a Sixteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution which reads as follows:

"Article XVI. The Right of Suffrage in the United States shall be based on citizenship, and shall be regulated by Congress; and all citizens of the United States, whether native or naturalized, shall enjoy this right equally without any distinction or discrimination whatever founded on sex."

Since our famous bill of rights was given to the world, declaring all men equal, there has been no other proposition, in its magnitude, beneficence and far-reaching consequences, so momentous as this.

It is a proposition to secure peace and prosperity in the state: light and liberty in the church; and health and happiness in the home; for it is the first step towards the realization of the united thought and action of man and woman in science, religion and government.

It is the new declaration of equality, proclaiming sex in mind; the marriage of affection and activity, of moral and material forces and the propagation of justice, mercy, truth and love. This sublime proposition is but the echo of both the old and new dispensations of sacred history; the one proclaiming in Paradise that "it is not good for man to be alone," the other commanding, with warning voice, in Palestine, "what God hath joined together let not man put asunder."

A great idea of progress is near its consummation, when statesmen in the councils of the nation propose to frame it into statutes and constitutions; when Reverend Fathers recognize it by a new interpretation of their creeds and canons; when the Bar and Bench at its command, set aside the legislation of centuries, and girls of twenty put their heels on the Cokes and Blackstones of the past.

Those who represent what is called "the Woman's Rights Movement" have argued their right to political equality from every stand point of justice, religion and logic, for the last twenty years. They have quoted the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the Bible, the opinions of great men and women in all ages; they have pleaded the theory of our government; Suffrage as a natural, inalienable right; showing from the lessons of history, that one class cannot legislate for another; that disfranchised classes must ever be neglected and degraded; and that all privileges are but mockery to the citizen, until he has a voice in the making and administering of law. Such arguments have been made over and over in Conventions and before the legislatures of the several states. Judges, lawyers, priests and politicians have said again and again, that our logic was unanswerable, and although much twaddle has emanated from the male tongue and pen on this subject, no man has yet made a fair, logical argument on the other side. Knowing that we hold the Gibraltar rock of reason on this question, they resort to ridicule and petty objections. Compelled to follow our assailants, wherever they go, and fight them with their own weapons; when cornered with wit and sarcasm, some cry out, we have no logic on our platform, forgetting that we have no use for logic until they give us logicians a whom to hurl it, and if, for the pure love of it, we now and then rehearse the logic that is like a, b, c, to all of us, others cry out—the same old speeches we have heard thirty years. It would be safe to say a hundred years, for they are the same our fathers used when battling old King George and the British Parliament for their right to representation as well as taxation, and a voice in the

laws by which they were governed. There are no new arguments to be made on human rights, our work to-day is to apply to ourselves those so familiar to all; to teach man that woman is not an anomalous being, outside all laws and constitutions, but one whose rights are to be established by the same process of reason as that by which he demands his own.

When our Fathers made out their famous bill of impeachment against England, they specified eighteen grievances. When the women of this country surveyed the situation in their first convention, they found they had precisely that number, and quite similar in character; and reading over the old revolutionary arguments of Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Otis and Adams, they found they applied remarkably well to their case. The same arguments made in this country for extending Suffrage from time to time, to white men, native born citizens, without property and education, and to foreigners; the same used by John Bright in England, to extend it to a million new voters, and the same used by the great republican party to enfranchise two million black men in the south, all these arguments we have to-day to offer for woman, and one, in addition, stronger than all beside, and that is the one to which I hinted in opening, the difference in man and woman. Because man and woman are the complement of one another, but divided halves, we need woman's thought in national affairs to make a safe and stable government.

The republican party to-day congratulates itself on having carried the Fifteenth Amendment of the constitution, thus securing "manhood suffrage" and establishing an aristocracy of sex on this continent.

As several bills to secure Woman's Suffrage in the District and the Territories have been already presented in both Houses of Congress, and as by Mr. Julian's bill, the question of so amending the constitution as to extend Suffrage to all the women of the country has been presented to the nation for consideration, it is not only the right but the duty of every thoughtful woman to express her opinion on the Sixteenth Amendment. While I hail the late discussions in Congress and the various bills presented as so many signs of progress, I am especially gratified with those of Messrs. Julian and Pomeroy, which forbid any state to deny the right of Suffrage to any of its citizens on account of sex or color.

This fundamental principle of our government—the equality of all the citizens of the republic—should be incorporated in the Federal constitution, there to remain forever. To leave this question to the states and partial acts of Congress, is to defer indefinitely its settlement, for what is done by this Congress may be repealed by the next; and politics in the several states differ so widely, that no harmonious action on any question can ever be secured, except as a strict party measure. Hence, we appeal to the party now in power, everywhere, to end this protracted debate on Suffrage, and declare it the inalienable right of every citizen who is amenable to the laws of the land, who pays taxes and the penalty of crime. We have a splendid theory of a genuine republic, why not realize it and make our government homogeneous, from Maine to California. The republican party has the power to do this, and now is its only opportunity, for it has been so long in the ascendant and had such large majorities that, in the nature of things, it must soon fall to pieces, especially as it has now no national question for a party issue on which to rouse the enthusiasm of the people. Greenbacks, Free Trade, Land Monopoly, Pacific Railroads, National Bank swindles, and Whiskey frauds equally divide both parties. Woman's Suffrage, in 1872, may be as good a card for the republicans as Grant was in the last election. It is said that the republican party made Grant President, not because they thought him the most desirable man in the nation for that office, but they were afraid the democrats would take him if they did not. We would suggest, there may be the same danger of democrats taking up Woman's Suffrage if they do not. God, in his providence, may have purified that party in the furnace of affliction. They have had the opportunity,

safe from the turmoil of political life and the temptations of office, to study and apply the divine principles of justice and equality to life; for minorities are always in a position to carry principles to their logical results, while majorities are governed only by votes. You see my faith in democracy is based on sound philosophy. In the next Congress, the democratic party will gain thirty-four new members, hence the republicans have had their last chance to do justice to woman.

It will be no enviable record for the Fortieth Congress that in the darkest days of the republic it placed our free institutions in the care and keeping of every type of manhood, in the hands of ignorance and vice, ignoring their own wives and mothers, all the elevating and purifying influences of the most virtuous, humane and educated half of the American people.

In changing the fundamental law of the land, all the people have a right to be heard. The women of this nation have clearly the right to vote on the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Amendments. If our rulers were not blinded by prejudice and custom, they would see that in common justice woman's consent should be asked when millions of ignorant foreigners are to be introduced into the body politic to legislate for her. It might be a question with an educated American woman whether she would trust her interests in the hands of ignorant Chinamen, with their low ideas of womankind, who might make laws that henceforth we should neither read, write, walk, nor go outside our garden gate. We might not like the legislation of the ignorant German, accustomed to drive his wife and cow side by side before the plough. We might not like the legislation of the ignorant African just from his own land or the southern plantation, in whose eyes woman is simply the being of man's lust. We cannot rest in the assurance that the higher orders of men will protect us, for they are helpless to-day to protect themselves here in the metropolis of the country. The same principles of common justice that apply to states apply to nations, and many able men have expressed the opinion that in the revision of the state constitution the state is for the time being resolved into its original elements, and that all the people have a right to vote on the fundamental laws that are to govern them, and this principle was recognized to a certain extent in both New York and Rhode Island in the revision of their constitutions. In New York, in 1801 and 1821, when all white men, as well as black, voted on a property qualification, those qualifications were set aside, and all men voted for members to the Constitutional Convention and were eligible to seats there, to frame the fundamental laws by which Governors, Senators and Assemblymen were created, though not permitted to vote in the general elections. I need but state this for all to see its justice and wisdom.

To-day, by the war and the entire revision of our Federal constitution, this nation is, for the time being, resolved into its original elements, and it is not only the right but the duty of all the people to say on what basis this government shall be reconstructed.

I urge a speedy adoption of the Sixteenth Amendment for many reasons.

1. A government, based on the caste and class principle, cannot stand. The aristocratic idea, in any form, is opposed to the genius of our free institutions, to our own declaration of rights, and to the civilization of the age. All artificial distinctions, whether of family, blood, wealth, color, or sex, are equally oppressive on the degraded classes, and equally destructive to national life and prosperity. Governments based on every form of aristocracy, on every degree and variety of inequality, have been tried in despotisms, monarchies, and republics, and all alike have perished. In the panoramas of the past behold the mighty nations that have risen, one by one, but to fall. Behold their temples, thrones and pyramids, their gorgeous palaces and stately monuments now crumbled all to dust. Behold every crowned head in Europe at this very hour trembling on his throne. Behold the republics on this Western continent convulsed, distracted, divided, the hosts scattered, the leaders fallen, the scouts lost in the wilderness, the once inspired prophets blind and dumb, while on all sides the cry is echoed, "Republicanism is a failure," though that great principle of a government "by the people, of the people, for the people," has never been tried. Thus far, all nations have been built on caste and failed. Why, in this hour of reconstruction, with the experience of generations before us, make another experiment in the same direction? If serfdom, peasantry, and slavery have shattered kingdoms, deluged continents with blood, scattered republics like dust before the wind, and rent our own Union asunder, what kind of a government, think you, American statesmen, you can build, with the mothers of the race crouching at your feet, while iron-

heeled peasants, serfs and slaves, exalted by your hands, tread our inalienable rights into the dust?

While all men, everywhere, are rejoicing in new-found liberties, shall woman alone be denied the rights, privileges and immunities of citizenship?

While in England men are coming up from the coal mines of Cornwall, from the factories of Birmingham and Manchester, demanding the suffrage; while in cold, frigid Russia the 22,000,000 newly-emancipated serfs are already claiming a voice in the government; while here, in our own land, slaves, but just rejoicing in the proclamation of emancipation, ignorant alike of its power and significance, have the ballot unasked, unsought, already laid at their feet—think you the daughters of Adams, Jefferson, and Patrick Henry, in whose veins flows the blood of two Revolutions, will forever linger round the camp-fires of an old barbarism, with no longings to join this grand army of freedom, in its onward march, to roll back the golden gates to a higher and better civilization?

Of all kinds of aristocracy, that of sex is the most odious and unnatural; invading, as it does, our homes, desecrating our family altars, dividing those whom God has joined together, exalting the son above the mother who bore him, and subjugating, everywhere, moral power to brute force. Such a government would not be worth the blood and treasure so freely poured out in its long struggles for freedom.

Though it has never been tried, we know an experiment on the basis of equality would be safe, for the laws in the world of morals are as immutable as in the world of matter. As the astronomer, Le Verrier, discovered the planet that bears his name by a process of reason and calculation through the variations of other planets from known laws, so can the true statesman, through the telescope of justice, see the genuine republic of the future, mid the ruins of the mighty nations that have passed away! When we base nations on justice and equality, we lift government out of the mists of speculation into the dignity of a fixed science.

Everything short of this is trick, legerdemain, slight of hand. Magicians may make nations seem to live when they do not. The Newtons of our day who should try to make apples stand in the air, and men walk on their heads, would be no more puerile in their experiments than are they who propose to reconstruct this nation outside of law on the basis of inequality.

2. I urge the Sixteenth Amendment, because "manhood suffrage" or a man's government, is civil, religious and social disorganization. The male element is a destructive force, stern, selfish, aggrandizing, loving war, violence, conquest, acquisition breeding in the material and moral world alike discord, disorder, disease and death. See what a record of blood and cruelty the pages of history reveal! Through what slavery, slaughter, and sacrifice, through what inquisitions and imprisonments, pains and persecutions, black codes and gloomy creeds, the seed of humanity have struggled for the centuries, while mercy has veiled her face and all hearts have been dead alike to love and hope! The male element has held high carnival thus far, it has fairly run riot from the beginning, overpowering the feminine element everywhere, crushing out all the diviner elements in human nature, until we know but little of true manhood and womanhood of the latter comparatively nothing, for it has scarce been recognized as an element of power until within the last century. Our creeds, codes and customs are but the reflections of man himself, untamed by woman's thought, the hard iron rule we feel alike in the church, the state and the home. No one need wonder at the disorganization of society, at the fragmentary condition of everything, when we remember that man, who represents but half a complete being, with but half an idea on every subject, has undertaken the absolute control of all sublimity matters. People object to the demands of those whom they choose to call the strong-minded, because they say, "the right of suffrage will make the women masculine." That is just the difficulty in which we are involved to-day. Though disfranchised we have few women in the best sense, we have simply so many reflections, varieties and dilutions of the masculine gender. The strong, natural characteristics of womanhood are repressed and ignored in dependence, for so long as man feeds woman she will try to please the giver and adapt herself to his condition. To keep a foothold in society woman must be as near like man as possible, reflect his ideas, opinions, virtues, motives, prejudices, and vices. She must respect his statutes, though they strip her of every inalienable right and conflict with that higher law written by the finger of God on her own soul. She must believe his theology, though it pave the highways of hell with the skulls of new-born infants, and make God a monster of vengeance and hypocrisy. She must look at everything from its

dollar and cent point of view, or she is a mere romancer. She must accept things as they are and make the best of them. To mourn over the miseries of others, the poverty of the poor, their hardships in jails, prisons, asylums the horrors of war, cruelty, and brutality in every form, all this would be mere sentimentalizing. To protest against the intrigue, bribery and corruption of public life, to desire that her sons might follow some business that did not involve lying, cheating, and a hard, grinding selfishness, would be arrant nonsense. In this way man has been moulding woman to his ideas by direct and positive influences, while she, if not a negation, has used indirect means to control him, and thus in most cases developed the very characteristics both in him and herself that most needed repression. Thus the higher nature of both sexes has been subordinated to the lower, and to-day our journals are filled with murders,—wives killing husbands; husbands, wives; sons, fathers; daughters, mothers. Seduction, rape, elopement, infanticide, poison, arson, garroting, death and destruction meet the eye at every turn. And now man himself stands appalled at the results of his own excesses, and mourns in bitterness that falsehood, selfishness and violence are the law of life. The need of this hour is not territory, gold mines, railroads or specie payments, but a new evangel of womanhood, to exalt power, virtue, morality, true religion, to lift man up into the higher realms of love, purity and thought.

We ask woman's enfranchisement, as the first step toward the recognition of that essential element in government that can only secure the health, strength and prosperity of the nation. Whatever is done to lift woman to her true position will help to usher in a new day of peace and perfection for the race. In speaking of the masculine element, I do not wish to be understood to say that all men are hard, selfish and brutal, for many of the most beautiful spirits the world has known have been clothed with manhood, but I refer to those characteristics, though often marked in woman, that distinguish what is called the stronger sex, qualities that are virtues when balanced by feminine virtues, but vices when in excess. For example, the love of acquisition and conquest, the very pioneers of civilization, when expended on the earth, the sea, the elements, the riches and forces of Nature, are powers of destruction when used to subjugate one man to another or to sacrifice nations to ambition. Here that great conservator of woman's love,—if permitted to assert itself, as it naturally would in freedom against all oppression, violence and war, would hold all these destructive forces in check, for woman knows the cost of life better than man does, and not with her consent would one drop of blood ever be shed, one life sacrificed in vain.

With violence and disturbance in the natural world, we see a constant effort to maintain an equilibrium of forces. Nature, like a loving mother, is ever trying to keep land and sea, mountain and valley, each in its place, to hush the angry winds and waves, balance the extremes of heat and cold, of rain and drought, that peace, harmony and beauty may reign supreme. There is a striking analogy between matter and mind, and the present disorganization of society warns us, that in the dethronement of woman we have let loose the elements of violence and ruin that she only has the power to curb.

If the civilization of the age calls for an extension of the suffrage, surely a government of the most virtuous, educated men and women would better represent the whole humanitarian idea, and protect the interests of all than could the representation of either sex alone. But government gains no new element of strength in admitting all men to the ballot-box, for we have too much of the man power there already. We see this in every department of legislation, and it is a common remark, that unless some new virtue is infused into our public life the nation is doomed to destruction. Will the foreign element, the dregs of China, Germany, England, Ireland and Africa, supply this needed force, or the nobler types of American womanhood who have taught our president, senators and congressmen the rudiments of all they know? But to ignore the influence of woman in legislation, and blindly insist on the recognition of all men, however ignorant, brutalized or degraded, must prove suicidal to any government on the earth. Hence the highest feelings of patriotism, justice to woman, and love for the race, impel us to protest against this wholesale enfranchisement of all types and shades of men, until women are admitted to the polls to outweigh the dangerous excess of the male element.

3. I urge the Sixteenth Amendment, because when "Manhood Suffrage" is established from Maine to California, woman has reached the lowest depths of political degradation. So long as there is a disfranchised class in this country, and that class its women, a man

government is worse than a white man's government with suffrage limited by property and educational qualifications, because in proportion as you multiply the rulers, the condition of the politically ostracised is more hopeless and degraded. John Stuart Mill, in his work on Liberty, shows that the condition of one disfranchised man in a nation is worse than when the whole nation is under one man, because in the latter case, if the one man is despotic, the nation can easily throw him off, but what can one man do with a nation of tyrants over him? If American women find it hard to bear the oppressions of their own Saxon Fathers, the best orders of manhood, what may she not be called to endure when all the lower orders of foreigners now crowding our shores legislate for her and her daughters. Think of Patrick and Sambo and Hans and Yung Tung, who do not know the difference between a monarchy and a republic, who cannot read the Declaration of Independence or Webster's spelling book, making laws for Lucretia Mott, Ernestine L. Rose, Susan B. Anthony or Anna E. Dickinson. Think of jurors and jailors drawn from these ranks to watch and try young girls for the crime of infanticide, to decide the moral code by which the mothers of this republic shall be governed? This Manhood Suffrage is an appalling question, and it would be well for thinking women, who seem to consider so magnanimous to hold their own claims in fealty until all men are crowned with citizenship, to remember that the most ignorant men are ever the most hostile to the equality of women, as they have known her only in slavery and degradation.

"Manhood Suffrage" is national suicide and woman's destruction. Every consideration of patriotism as well as personal safety warns the women of the republic to demand their speedy enfranchisement. Go to our courts of justice, our jails and prisons; go into the world of work; into the trades and professions; into the temples of science and learning, and see what is meted out everywhere to women; to those who have no advocates in our courts, no representatives in the councils of the nation. Hester Vaughan, a young English girl, under sentence of death for the alleged crime of infanticide, which could not be proved against her, has dragged out the weary days of a whole year in the solitude and gloom of a Pennsylvania prison, while her destroyer walks this green earth in freedom, enjoying alike the sunshine and the dews of heaven; and this girl still sits alone in her cell weeping for friends and native land, while such men as Generals Cole and Sickles, who shot their wives paralytic dead before many witnesses, in broad day light, are not only acquitted but feasted and toasted by the press and the people! Such is "Manhood Suffrage." Shall we prolong and perpetuate such injustice, and by increasing this power, risk worse oppressions for ourselves and daughters? It is an open, deliberate insult to American womanhood to be thus cast down under the iron-heeled peasantry of the old world and the slaves of the new, as we shall be in the practical working of the Fifteenth Amendment, and the only atonement the republic can make, is now to complete its work, by enfranchising the women of the nation, and thus blot out their dark record on this question. I have not forgotten their action four years ago, when Article 14, Sec 2, was amended by invidiously introducing the word "male" into the Federal Constitution, where it had never been before, thus counting out of the basis of representation all men not permitted to vote, thereby making it the interest of every state to enfranchise its male citizens, and virtually declaring it no crime to disfranchise its women. As political sagacity moved our rulers thus to guard the interests of the negro for party purposes, common justice might have compelled them to show like respect for their own mothers, by counting woman too, out of the basis of representation, that she might no longer swell the numbers to legislate adversely to her interests. And this desecration of the last will and testament of the Fathers, this retrogressive legislation for woman, was in the face of the earnest protests of thousands of the best educated, most refined and cultivated women of the North. Now, when the attention of the whole world is turned to this question of Suffrage, and women themselves are throwing off the lethargy of ages, and in England, France, Germany, Switzerland and Russia are holding their conventions, and their rulers are everywhere giving them a respectful hearing, shall American statesmen, claiming to be liberal, so amend their constitutions as to make their wives and mothers the political inferiors of unlettered and unwashed ditch-diggers, boot-blacks, butchers and barbers, fresh from the slave plantations of the South, and the effete civilisations of the old world? While poets and philosophers, statesmen and men of science are all alike pointing to women as the new hope for the redemption of the race, shall the freest government on the earth be the

first to establish an aristocracy based on sex alone? To exalt ignorance above education, vice above virtue, brutality and barbarism above refinement and religion? Not since God first called light out of darkness and order out of chaos was there ever made so base a proposition as "Manhood Suffrage" in this American Republic after all the discussions we have had on human rights in the last century. On all the blackest pages of history there is no record of an act like this, in any nation, where native born citizens, having the same religion, speaking the same language, equal to their rulers in wealth, family and education, have been politically ostracised by their own countrymen, outlawed with savages, and subjected to the government of outside barbarians. Remember the Fifteenth Amendment takes in a larger population than the 2,000,000 black men on the southern plantation. It takes in all the foreigners daily landing in our eastern cities, the Chinese crowding our western shores, the inhabitants of Alaska and all those western isles that will soon be ours. American statesmen may flatter themselves that by superior intelligence and political sagacity the higher orders of men will always govern, but when the ignorant foreign vote already holds the balance of power in this country by sheer force of numbers, it is simply a question of impulse or passion, bribery or fraud, how our elections will be carried. When the highest offices in the gift of the people are bought and sold in Wall street, it is a mere chance who will be our rulers. Whether is a nation tending when brains count for less than bullion, and clowns make laws for Queens. It is a startling assertion, but nevertheless true, that in none of the nations of modern Europe are the higher classes of women politically so degraded as are the women of this republic to-day. In the old world, where the government is the aristocracy, where it is considered a mark of nobility to share its offices and powers, women of rank have certain hereditary rights which raise them above a majority of the men, certain honors and privileges not granted to serfs and peasants. There women are Queens, hold subordinate offices, and vote on many questions. In our southern states, even before the war, women were not degraded below the working population. They were not humiliated, in seeing their coachmen, gardeners and waiters go to the polls to legislate for them; but here in this boasted Northern civilization, women of wealth and education, who pay taxes and obey the laws, who in morals and intellect are the peers of their proudest rulers, are thrust outside the pale of political consideration with nuns, paupers, lunatics, traitors, idiots, with those guilty of bribery, larceny and infamous crimes. Would those gentlemen who are on all sides telling the women of the nation not to press their claims until the negro is safe beyond a peradventure, be willing themselves to stand aside and trust all their interests to hands like these?

The educated women of this nation feel as much interest in republican institutions, the preservation of the country, the good of the race, their own elevation and success, as any man possibly can, and we have the same distrust in man's power to legislate for us, that he has in woman's power to legislate wisely for herself.

4. I would press the Sixteenth Amendment, because the history of American statesmanship does not inspire me with confidence in man's capacity to govern the nation alone, with justice and mercy. I have come to this conclusion, not only from my own observation, but from what our rulers say of themselves. Honorable Senators have risen in their places again and again, and told the people of the wastefulness and corruption of the present Administration. Others have set forth, with equal clearness, the ignorance of our rulers on the question of Finance. Nearly every man in Congress has some different project for stealing the industry of the people, and each one declares that every plan but his own is the ruin of commerce and the destruction of the nation. It is easy to see that all are alike aloof on questions of political economy, jurisprudence and government, and equally obtuse on political honor and morality. With legislation practically in the hands of a few capitalists who have the power to buy up all the votes they need for a given measure, who regulate the banking system, taxes, rates of interest, gamble in the national debt, send gold and all kinds of stocks up and down at their pleasure, who own the railroads, public lands, government bonds, National banks, ocean and river steamers—the rich will protect their own interests and perpetuate their power, while the laboring classes will be reduced to squalid poverty and utter dependence. The most casual observer can trace the same causes at work here that have ever impoverished the masses in the old world. Already we see bloated wealth and gaunt poverty stalking side by side in New York as well as in London. That these extremes in society have always existed is no

argument for their continuance. Because politicians are ignorant of the laws of political economy, and leave everything, as they say, to regulate itself, is no reason why the people should wreck their own interests by following their example. Do not let us longer confound the designs of Providence with the legitimate results of human legislation. Priests and politicians from the beginning have hoodwinked the masses with the idea that all the ills of life were divine mercies, for their purification, the good things the result of civil and ecclesiastical organization. It is not Providence who is opening to-day a kind of Pandora's box, destroying the virtue and honor of the people, but our corrupt rulers, who, by their selfish and unjust legislation, have demoralized the political sentiment of the whole country. Everyone who thinks, and observes the signs of the times knows that the heart of this nation is rotten to the very core. We have bribery and corruption in all the departments of the government at Washington, in our state legislatures and courts of justice, in every branch of commerce and trade.

The recent revelations in the New York World, showing the wholesale frauds and adulterations, the short weights, the poisonous substances in all we eat and drink, sacrificing alike the health of man and beast, the petty lying and cheating, the contemptible tricks of trade—all make a fearful picture of human depravity. Verily, like the Israelites of old, we seem to be wholly given over to the worship of the golden calf, and on the altar of mammon we are to-day sacrificing the manhood and womanhood of the nation, our free institutions and glorious country, already twice baptized in the blood of a brave and generous people.

What woman can stand an unmoved spectator while our noblest men, in high places, are, one after another, drawn down this whirlpool of bribery and corruption? If the strongest and bravest can scarce keep foothold, what can we hope for the young, the weak, inexperienced? When every morning paper heralds the downfall of some man whom the people have loved: praise and honor; when Presidents, Senators, Congressmen, Governors, Foreign Ministers and leading Journalists are buried in a common grave, while the living laugh at their misfortunes, dip their pens in gall to blacken their memories, and, like beasts of prey, devour the dead, oh! let the mothers of this nation go watch and pray at the doors of these sepulchres of human hopes and ambition, for unless some power can galvanize the slumbering virtue of this people to new life, the first-born in every household will be sacrificed to mammon:

"We count the graves of friends now dead  
Within God's acre, holy ground;  
But who the hopes that daily die  
Without a struggle or a sound?"

"We have just finished one battle," says Henry Ward Beecher, "for the life of the republic; another one lies right before us. It is the battle of mammon. Capital, rightly employed is civilizing and beneficent. As a corrupter it is almost omnipotent. Already our government is assailed by it. If a new Administration can find no remedy, and things go on as they have, the end is at hand. The purse will outweigh the constitution. The lobby will control the public policy. If not arrested, mammon will soon be mightier than the President, Senators, and Representatives. Is it for citizens to sit calmly by without a cry or protest, and see one thing after another swept away by this yellow stream that beats against Congress, Legislature and the Judiciary, and threatens to undermine them!"

What thinking mind can look for any improvement in extending Suffrage still farther to the very class that have so terribly demoralized the politics of the nation?

5. I demand the adoption of the Sixteenth Amendment, because the present isolation of the sexes is opposed to the teachings of science, philosophy and common sense. Comte, the distinguished French writer, in his Positive Philosophy, shows clearly that the first step towards social reorganization involves the education and elevation of woman. It is only in giving her sentiments and affections development and an enlightened direction, that governments can be made stable, that capital and labor can be reconciled, intellect and activity harmonized.

All late writers on the science of government recognize in woman the great harmonizing element of the new era we are now entering, in which life is to be held sacred, the interests of all guarded, labor dignified, the criminal treated like a moral patient, education made practical and attractive, and brought within the reach of all. Any scientific observer of the relations of sexes, even in the present false conditions of society, can see that their mutual influence is ever restraining and elevating.

Boys brought up with women are more gentle, pure-minded and conscientious than those educated wholly by their own sex.

So girls brought up with men are ever more vigorous in thought and action, less vain and frivolous, than when under the care of women alone. Boys and girls in schools together are more healthy and refined in all their associations than either sex alone. When we ask that woman be admitted into the world of politics that it may be purified and elevated, it is not that we consider woman better than man, but that the noblest sentiments of both are called out by such associations. In California and Oregon, when society there was chiefly male and rapidly tending to savagism, women in large numbers went out, and order and decency were soon restored to life. Look, too, at woman's influence in the world of letters. Though she was long forbidden to read and write, and has scarce been recognized in literature until within the last century, yet what a change she has already wrought in popular taste. When she began to read and think and write, such men as Fielding, Rousseau, Swift and Smollet went out of fashion and became themselves the target for the poisoned arrows they had prepared for her.

No man to day would be willing to blot out from the literature of the world all the gems of thought that woman has contributed in the last century. The distinguished historian, Henry Thomas Buckle, said, "the turn of thought of women, their habits of mind, insensibly extending over the whole surface of society and frequently penetrating its most intimate structure, have, more than all other things put together, tended to raise us into an ideal world, and lift us from the dust into which we are too prone to grovel."

"Manhood Suffrage" is the ignoring of this grand element in government, while the nation is languishing to-day for some new virtue, honor and truth, some new inspiration to galvanize a slumbering manhood into life.

While such men as John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, Mazzini, Gasparin, Laboulaye and Jules Favre are all alike pointing to woman as the sun and centre of the higher civilization, shall not American Senators make haste to lay all the rights, privileges and immunities of citizenship at the feet of their own countrywomen—the noblest type of womankind on which the sun has ever shone? While eloquent tongues in England, France, Germany and Italy are paying glowing tributes to woman and prophesying for her a nobler future, why is it that the liberal party in this country, whose talk is all of human rights, is so deaf and dumb on woman, when she is the theme the world over? Are the women of this nation less worthy of respect than those of other lands? Nay, nay, America can boast thousands of wives and mothers as remarkable for their domestic virtues as Victoria has been, and many women whose eloquence can far surpass that echoed in the British Parliament by England's Queen.

6. I urge the Sixteenth Amendment on your consideration, because the safety and dignity of woman demand her immediate enfranchisement. "Manhood Suffrage" creates an antagonism every where between educated, refined women and the lower orders of men—especially at the South, where the slaves of yesterday are the law-makers of to-day. It not only rouses woman's prejudices against the negro, but his hostility and contempt for her. Just as the Democratic party cry of a White Man's government created the antagonism between the Irishman and the negro, culminating in the New York riots of 1863, so the republican cry of "Manhood Suffrage" creates an antagonism between black men and all women, and must culminate in fearful outrages on womanhood, especially in the southern states. While I fully appreciate the philosophy that every extension of rights prepares the way to greater freedom to new classes and hastens the day for liberty to all, I at the same time see that the immediate effect of class enfranchisement results in greater tyranny on those who have no voice in the government. Had Irishmen been disfranchised in this country they would have made common cause with the negro in fighting for their rights, but when exalted above him, they proved his worst enemies. The negro will be the victim, for a generation to come, of the prejudice engendered by the legislation that made this a white man's government. While the enfranchisement of each new class of white men was a step toward his ultimate freedom, it increased his degradation in the transition period, and he touched the depths of human misery when all men but the negro were crowned with citizenship. Just so with woman. While the enfranchisement of all men will hasten the day of justice to her, yet her degradation too, in the transition period, will be more complete, and we would fain have woman escape the tyranny, persecutions, insults, and horrors that will

surely be hers in the establishment of an aristocracy of sex.

Until the blow is struck in the're own home circle, few husbands or fathers appreciate the depths of degradation to which womanhood is daily subjected by the lower orders of ignorant, brutal men, taught by their edicts to believe themselves the rightful owners and masters of all womankind. One cannot take up a daily paper without reading some terrible outrage committed by Germans, Irishmen, or negroes, on refined, educated women of all ages, from the dignified matron on her way to church, to the sweet girl of sixteen, gathering wild flowers in the forest on her way to school. Such are but the outgrowths of the sentiments and statutes of the higher orders of men of the position of women in the church, the state, and the home. All this talk about woman being too good, too pure, too exalted to vote, is the sheerest hypocrisy, it is a sham and a fraud, for our customs, laws and opinions all harmonize with the idea of degradation.

It was thought at one time, that the Priesthood were too good to vote, and in their case see how well our laws, and customs harmonized with that idea. All men pay more respect to the black coat than any other. They are treated like a superior order. The people give the clergy houses to live in, clothes to wear, food to eat. They are a privileged class with all the trades and professions. Lawyers fight their battles for nothing, physicians prescribe for their families without charge. They are the special favorites of the law, too, \$1,500 of their property is not taxed. But what one of all these privileges is bestowed upon woman? None whatever. With her the practice is all reversed. She does everything for the rest of the world at half price. She is taxed on all she eats and drinks and wears, and pays full price for all her necessities and luxuries. This is her exaltation. But what, say you, has the ballot to do with all this. Much, every way. The ballot is the symbol of equality, and to recognize woman's equality in every position of life, is to teach her self-respect, dignify her in the eyes of man and throw new safeguards round her virtue. Let society do as much towards dignifying the woman, as the Priest, teach the masses that there is no office so sacred as motherhood, and that it is a fouler sacrilege to desecrate a young innocent girl than any altar or holy symbol of the church, and we shall soon end the gross assaults on woman so common to-day. We judge of woman's real position by the facts of every-day life, not by the stale platitudes of sickly sentimentalists.

We see something more in the ballot "than a slip of paper, dropped into a box once a year, to choose a county sheriff." It has a deeper significance. It is the recognition of the civil, political and social equality of the citizen. It is throwing aside the badge of degradation for the shield of sovereignty, an unknown signature for the seal of the state.

Seeing woman, not only in our own country, but in all the nations of modern Europe, throwing off the lethargy of ages, and demanding an extension of rights:—seeing the deep and wide-spread interest among leading minds everywhere on this question:—clearly reading the signs of the times, my pulse beats as proudly to-day for enfranchised womanhood, as if my life-long hopes were already fully realized, for as I look through the vista of the dark past and onward to the shining future, and mark each milestone of progress on the highway of civilization, I see we are already on the boundaries of that better land where moral power shall govern brute force. Dazzled with the coming glory, it is wearisome to parley with carping minds to-day, answer their absurd objections, listen to their stale platitudes, and puny insults to womanhood.

I look not to the old barbarism of the past, to creeds, or codes, or customs, to learn the rights, the dignity, the destiny of woman, but to the teachings of my own soul, to the inner, and the great outer world that lies beyond human legislation.

From yonder hill top, at the setting sun, with Nature in hers weet, confiding moods, one may learn all they care to know of human destiny. In hours like this, I have asked the majestic rivers, mighty forests and eternal hills that in their yearnings seem to touch the heavens: I have asked the sun, the moon, the stars that for ages have looked down on human weal and woe:—I have asked my own soul in moments of exaltation and humiliation, if women, who, in thought, can touch the invisible, explore the planetary world, encompass land and sea, was made by her Creator to be a slave, a subject; a mere reflection of another human will? and in solemn chorus, one and all have answered, no! no! no!!!

LETTER FROM GERRIT SMITH.

PETERBORO, May 1st, 1869.

MRS. E. C. STANTON—My Dear Kinswoman: You bid

me make a speech or write a letter in behalf of the right of woman to vote. I choose the latter.

Freedom is the natural, the normal state of humanity—as well of women as of men. Every one desires freedom for himself. But it is not every one who desires it for all others. The subjects of him who tyrannizes over a nation long to be free—but he will not let them be free. The slave hungers for freedom—but the slaveholder will not let him have it. People wish to be free to choose their religion—but ecclesiastical despotism will not let them. Calvin thought it proper that Servetus should be burnt for clinging to his religion. It was for daring to be free in their religion that the Inquisition tortured hundreds of thousands. Women have the right to be free—but men will not let them be free. Women have as full right as men to participate in making the laws by which, equally with men, they are governed—but men will not permit such participation. Men insist on deciding and ordaining what is best for women—but as well might women insist on deciding and ordaining what is best for men. Men are ever defining woman's sphere—but as well might women be guilty of the like arrogance in regard to man's sphere. This prescribed or conventional sex-sphere should no longer be allowed to trammel individual freedom. Every one should be left at entire liberty to choose an individual sphere—a man to choose to knit or sew—a woman to choose to fell trees or to be a blacksmith.

This unhappy world will be a happy one, when all shall cease from tyrannizing over each other—over each other's person, will and conscience. But it will be said that most women would, if left free to choose their path in life, choose a wrong one. Possibly, they would. Nevertheless, this is not so bad, as to walk in, it may be, better ones, if they are compelled to do so by dictators and tyrants. One of the great evils is an undue anxiety about each other's real or imagined errors. There is no little wisdom in the saying: "Let the wicked be wicked." It is a deserved rebuke of the misplaced and excessive anxiety of those who are so distractedly concerned to have others become good after the pattern of goodness adopted and idolized by these concerned ones.

All women would not vote right, says the objector. Neither do all men is our answer to him. But whether this man and that woman vote wisely or unwisely does not affect the question of their right to vote. Their right to life and property is a natural and absolute one; and no less so is their right to participate in the choice of the guardians and controllers (for such are our rulers) of their life and property. I do not forget how common is the denial that voting is a natural right. But such denial is indefensible, and as injurious as indefensible. To reduce rights which are vital to our welfare and to our very being, to the low grade of conventional rights, which may be granted or withheld at another's option, is to leave unprotected our most essential interests and our most sacred possessions.

Some of the reasons why woman should not be hindered from voting are:

1st. Her right to vote is as certain and perfect as man's. She is, obviously, equal to man, and essentially one with him. Her rights, which, in common with his, are under the control of the ballot-box, are as sacred as his, and are as important to her as are his to him. As well might woman undertake to keep man from the ballot-box, as man be guilty of keeping her from it. Infinite shame to man is it that woman is kept from it!—and thus too by brute force! Woman is fast coming to feel this oppression: and, in proportion to her feeling it, is her sense of the worth and nobleness of man reduced. Nothing on earth is more important than that the sexes should bear themselves toward each other so justly, generously and lovingly as to inspire the fullest mutual confidence and to command from each other the highest honor. Woman should have no occasion to feel that man deals unfairly by her—least of all, that the unfairness is one which, as in the case of her exclusion from voting, is enforced by his superior physical power.

I am not unmindful of the most-dwelt-upon excuse for shutting woman out of politics—the excuse, that her having to do with them would produce such changes in her spirit, character and manners as would render her less pleasing in the eyes of man. This would, doubtless, be the effect with many men—especially with those who would have woman for their doll or servant instead of their equal. But even were it to be the effect with all men, there would be no argument in it for withholding her rights from woman. Her rights she must have however unfavorably her exercising them may affect man's view of her. Perhaps, there are ladies so sentimental and refined, as to prefer that their lovers should not vulgarize themselves by voting. But these ladies must not, therefore, be allowed to deprive those lovers of their right to vote, any more than those lover

may, for their reasons, insist that these ladies have not this right. The rights of neither sex turn upon the real or imagined effects of their exercise—not even upon the direct effects, much less upon the incidental.

2d. Man's voting is insufficient. Woman, also, must vote. One class cannot vote for another. The rich and the poor cannot vote for each other; nor can the employers and the employed. Much less can men and women vote for each other. Although woman is of the same rank and dignity of being with man, there is that in her constitution and character, which makes her unlike man. She is the complement of him as is he also of her. The perfected humanity comes of the blending of the two.

It is a provision of nature that the mother loves her child more than the father does. The father may leave his sons exposed to ruin from gambling-houses and drinking-houses and brothels. But after the mother shall have come to vote, these temptations will fast be put away. This is but one of many illustrations of the need of woman's participating in politics, and bringing into them elements of which politics have hitherto been destitute. Again, when woman's voice shall be heard in the laws, and in their administration, the Hester Vaughans will never be hung, and but rarely imprisoned. In that day it will not be presumed that the seduced mother is guilty of the unnatural crime of deliberately killing her own infant; but it will rather be presumed that, if she had any part in its death, it was because of those pains of the body and that anguish of the spirit, which drove her to an irresponsible degree of distraction. How often do the pains of parturition overcome the reason of even the innocent and self-approving instead of self-condemning mother!—and, this too, notwithstanding all the alleviations which affection and skill can minister!

3d. Woman has, as yet, but a narrow range of thought and action. As a general proposition, the range of thought is no wider than that of permitted action. Shutting out classes from the wide and high fields of action is shutting them out from the wide and high fields of thought also. The fact that woman gives more of her thoughts to fashion and dress and more of her heart to jewelry than man does, is chiefly because he excludes her from the important interests and business of states and nations. The ballot in the hand of woman will work a rapid change in her character and conduct. The little things of life will then have no more influence upon her than upon him, whilst the great things of life will be as interesting to her as to him. Does the fact that women are more generally religious than men conflict with my declaration that their range of thought is narrow? It does not. Religion is not inconsistent with such narrowness. It must itself be narrow where its churches are so emphatically women-churches—made up chiefly of women and, therefore, adapted to the tastes and habits of women. When our women shall vote on those great questions in human affairs which are passed upon at the polls, not only will they cease to be characteristically narrow, but so also will their churches. A broader, wiser, and more useful type of religion will then obtain, attractive alike to elevated men and elevated women. I know it is extensively held that the religion is all the better, which has no concern with those great public questions to which I have referred. It is true that it may be more imaginative and sentimental. But the robust, practical religion which, in best fitting us for earth, best fits us for heaven, neither shrinks from nor shirks such questions.

However pleasant in some respects, it is nevertheless painful in others, to see this flocking of women into church membership. The church is the only considerable field, the only considerable associated action—which the injustice of man allows her to enter: and, even here, she is, instead of being an honored actor, but little more than an observer—permitted to see what men do, instead of being their fellow-doer. Nevertheless, the church exists mainly for woman—for the passive, ignorant, shrivelled being, which man's despotic restrictions upon her, necessarily compel her to be. Alas, how deficient in breadth, manliness and usefulness must such a woman's church be! such a woman's religion be!

4th. It is necessary for women to vote, not only that they may thereby be lifted up and expanded, but that by means of their progress, men also may make progress. Whether man shall rise to a higher than his present low plane of life turns, in no small degree, on the question whether woman shall escape from her thralldom. If she, who is man's closest, most constant and most influential companion, shall be permitted to enlarge and enrich herself by mingling in the whole length and breadth of human affairs, she will not fail to help him onward and upward, very far beyond all his former progress. On the contrary, if she is to remain confined to her present narrow walks, and forbidden by the laws

of the land and the conventions and usages of society to interest and instruct herself in what lies outside of those narrow walks, then she will not fail to hold man down in his present low ground, and to keep him bound in his present low and self-indulgent habits. In short, men and women must rise or fall together. Neither can get far, or more than temporarily, ahead of the other.

Affectionately yours, GERRIT SMITH.

FROM JOHN STUART MILL.

AVIGNON, April 25, 1869.

DEAR MADAM: You have done me the honor to inform me of the Convention about to be held in New York on the subject of Woman's Suffrage, and you ask me for a letter on the occasion. I would gladly comply with the request, but the cause, in America, has advanced beyond the stage at which it could need a recommendation from me, or from any man. It is not to be believed that the nation which is now engaged in admitting the newly-liberated negro to the plenitude of all political franchises, will much longer retain women in a state of helotage which (as is truly remarked in the letter of invitation issued by your Association) is now more degrading than ever, because, being no longer shared by any of the male sex, it constitutes every woman the inferior of every man. The late glorious struggle has shaken old prejudices, and has brought men to a feeling that the principles of your democratic institutions are not mere phrases, but are meant to be believed and acted upon towards all persons; and I am persuaded that the political equality which is now refused to no one else, will be conceded to women as soon as a sufficiently large number of them unite in demanding it. I therefore heartily wish success to the approaching demonstration.

I am, dear madam, very sincerely yours, J. S. MILL.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

FROM A. BRONSON ALCOOTT.

CONCORD, May 4, 1869.

MRS. STANTON—Dear Madam: I recall with much satisfaction our interview at Syracuse, and should gladly renew my acquaintance at your home in New York, with the added privilege of meeting the elect of your associates whose views and endeavors for promoting the equal advancement of the sexes and races have won so many of the friends of human civility and common rights everywhere to your side. And your intimation of open parlors and of thoughtful companions to fill them, offers additional attractions to a lover of conversation like myself. I fear, however, that I must forego, for the present, at least, the opportunities. And the loss is dearly mine—ours, may I not rather say—if I am right in the persuasion that the slower sex are to be quickened and spurred forward by the purer impulses and fairer ideals in which yours instinctively share, and in which are conceived and nurtured into life that social state which our affections and advancing civilization alike predict.

Woman complements and perfects man; and she is fast taking her proper place abreast of him to perfect herself and rise to the true Rule. You will not think me indifferent, then, to her ascendancy, if I cherish the conviction that she is helping herself to secure her rightful place in a better spirit and manner than any we can suggest or devise, and that it becomes us to take, rather than proffer, counsel, modestly waiting to learn her wishes and aims, as she has so long and so patiently deferred to us. Is it too much to hope that her practical sense and persuasive eloquence is to clothe with substance and beauty our hearts' early faith, restoring to a coming generation, if not to us, the lost Paradise on Earth? With great regard, sincerely yours,

A. BRONSON ALCOOTT.

My remembrances to our mutual friend, Mr. Pillsbury.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

PROVIDENCE, April 18, 1869.

MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON—Dear Madam: I am much obliged by your courteous invitation, to the anniversary meeting of the American Equal Rights Association, but as a foreign resident in this country, I think it right strictly to abstain from taking part in any political movement or discussion.

I am, dear Madam, yours faithfully,

GOLDWIN SMITH.

ELIZABETH B. CHACE.

VALLEY FALLS, April 29, 1869.

DEAR MRS. STANTON: I shall be unable to attend any of the anniversaries in New York next month, glad as I should be to do so. I do not think as you do in regard to several things, but I have no time to do my differences justice. I admire, and am glad of all the noble work you have done, and trust you will do much more; but I could never see the justice of your objection to giving

the ballot to black men, if the nation was ready to do that, before it was ready to give it to women. I do not think that one act of justice ever makes anybody less ready to do another, but rather that it helps them to get ready. Hoping you will have a good, useful convention,

Thine respectfully,

E. B. CHACE.

I have always advocated universal suffrage. When I demand this right for women, as well as all shades and types of men, it is not that I love the black man less, but the black woman more.

MARY GREW.

PHILADELPHIA, April 26, 1869.

MY DEAR FRIEND: Your letter inviting me to speak at your anniversary in May, was duly received. I must decline your invitation, heartily as I sympathize with the cause of Woman's Rights.

I am working heart and hand for the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, which is, as I believe, to crown and consummate the grand work of the American Abolitionists, and seal the colored man's freedom. So far from regarding that amendment as "infamous," I regard it as just and right;—so far from wishing to "stop" it, I am seeking to promote its ratification.

Differing thus widely from you of THE REVOLUTION, seeking an end which you oppose, I cannot join your work, for it would be helping to pull down with one hand, what I am striving to build up with the other!

Respecting every one's freedom of opinion, and right to utter that opinion, and regretting that you and I do thus differ respecting our duty to the colored man, and the best way of promoting the cause of Woman's Rights,

I am very truly yours,

MARY GREW.

Mrs. E. C. Stanton.

If with me you should advocate the Sixteenth Amendment, and thus demand suffrage for the black woman you would more fully "crown and consummate the grand work of the American Abolitionists." Statutes and constitutions that make black men the masters of the women of their race, are just as "infamous" as the laws that Saxon men have made for us.

HON. J. M. SCOVEL.

CAMDEN, N. J., April 28, 1869.

MRS. CADY STANTON—My dear Madam: I thank you sincerely for your invitation to be present at the anniversary of the American Equal Rights Association.

If possible, I will be there, and if I cannot come will, as you suggest, find time to write a careful letter in favor of making the human law reflect that divine law which draws no line between Jew and Greek, Man and Woman, Barbarian, Scythian, Bond and Free. \* \* \* \*

Sincerely, J. M. SCOVEL.

CORA L. V. DANIELS.

499 H St., WASHINGTON, D. C., April 28, 1869.

MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON—My dear Madam: Accompanying I send a Bill, presented to Congress by the Hon. Geo. W. Julian, to which I invite your careful consideration. As Mr. Julian has said the best word for Equal Rights for women, so he seems ready to stand in the breach and defend every humane and just measure, however unpopular it may be. Next to the enfranchisement of women, indeed taking rank behind it, I regard the citizenship and protection of the Indians. From necessity, not choice, our government abolished slavery. From necessity will it recognize the rights of woman, and the same power will compel the ultimate discovery, so long delayed, that the Indians are our brothers and sisters, and cannot with impunity be either neglected or exterminated.

From the tone of your paper, I conclude that this important subject is included in your platform, and I know it will not fail to receive recognition at your hands. So long as these people are "outlaws" we shall remain the aggressors and they the injured parties.

The writer has recently spent considerable time in tracing the history of this much-abused race. But their position is preferable to that of our nation, for we are the criminals, they only act in self-defence and are not amenable to our laws. I also discover that some of the tribes could teach our government a lesson most worthy of emulation in reference to the equality of women. Yet we call them "savages" and propose to teach them civilization!

It is my present purpose to be in New York at the anniversary. It will give me pleasure to add my voted

to the words of eloquence which will be spoken on that occasion in behalf of Equal Rights for all, by presenting in contrast the action of our government concerning women, compared to that of one, at least, of the Indian tribes or nations, who recognize her entire equality, and also compared with other nations we are accustomed to designate as "barbarians."

Very truly yours, CORA L. V. DANIELS.

REV. MR. KENNEDY, EDITOR "CHURCH UNION."

DEAR MADAM: I feel very highly honored by your kind invitation to "say a good word" at the approaching meeting of your association. For my own sake I shall try to attend; and you may count upon me to fill a gap, if nobody better is at hand.

Yours most respectfully, CRAMMOND KENNEDY.

FROM DR. HARRIET K. HUNT.

MY DEAR MRS. STANTON: A greeting to you and all the true and brave women, either from North, South, East or West. Thank you for your invitation, but I am laying up for repairs, having not been down stairs but once since Christmas, and that at the ordination of my sister's second son.

I find many words to be spoken in my room, and must say all things are working wonderfully.

Truly for humanity, H. K. HUNT.

GRACE GREENWOOD.

WASHINGTON, May 6th, 1869.

MY DEAR MISS ANTHONY: Many thanks for your kind invitation to attend your convention of the 14th inst. Though it will probably not be in my power to be with you at that time, I beg you to accept the assurance of my full and hearty sympathy in your grand undertaking. Though I may not be classed among the honored leaders of your organized forces, I have fought a sort of guerrilla fight for the cause in my own way, for many years. Set me down, recording angels and secretaries, as one who loves her fellow-woman, as one ready to advocate any and every measure calculated to give them a broader field of thought and labor, as one who demands for them simple justice and freedom, a fair field and no favor. Respectfully and regretfully,

GRACE GREENWOOD.

## UP BROADWAY.

BY ELEANOR KIRK.

### CHAPTER X.

THE promise I had so desired to gain was mine, and, as I bade my newly-found friends good-bye for a day or two, my feelings were of a decidedly mixed character. Thankfulness was, of course, predominant; but, to save my life, I could not help thinking of the man who drew the largest prize in that lottery we have all heard so much about, that mythical elephant—the height of the poor fellow's ambition, but so awkward to handle.

I had started out one day, to gain some information from beggars, determined to question all who approached me, and, as a friendly paper remarked, "went home with the first one met." The journal refrained from saying, "woman fashion." It was a male (*Mail*) editor, too, who stopped thus considerably short in his criticism, and I shall always think a heap of him for his self-denial.

Well, when I arrived home, I surveyed my little family ("little" in this case is a word not at all meant for a descriptive adjective) and wondered what I should do first. I had realized from the beginning, how difficult it would be to provide remunerative work for one so totally unskilled in every department of labor. I knew that it would be a long time (perhaps never) before she could support herself—and with her independent ideas. I saw plainly that not a little finesse would have to be practiced, if I would have the object of my solicitude comfortable. To interest my friends in the cause would involve too much publicity at this critical juncture.

"Do not, please do not, bring any one to see me," was her especial prayer, and who could but respect the extremely natural wish. I hadn't a friend but would believe every incident I might relate to them—but would help me in caring for these new responsibilities. Still, it would certainly be very unfair not to allow them a glimpse of the person they would benefit. So, after mature deliberation, I concluded (this time not "woman fashion") to keep the story to myself, and try three or four brokers who had previously come to my rescue in cases of destitution.

The woman's whole condition must be changed. Her surroundings must undergo an immediate and thorough transformation; and, as I put down the figures in my little account-book, reckoning up the expense of coal, wood, a new carpet, a stove, flour, hominy, and decent clothes—to save my life I couldn't make it less than one hundred and fifty dollars. If I omitted my daily walk—and hour or so of conversation—if I retired later and rose earlier, it would take a long time to make that amount over and above my own large and necessary expenses. To cap the climax, my four-year old, who had been teasing for a doll that opened its eyes, and had long, curly, real hair, came to my side just as I had added the last domestic necessity, with:

"Mamma, when may I have my doll-baby? Didn't you say when you got that last 'tory done?"

"Yes, dear," I answered, and wondered as I kissed her rosy lips if, under the circumstances, the darling should not be indefinitely put off. Oh, these everlasting questions of duty and inclination! Then master Joe, a young autocrat of six, approached.

"Mamma, see the hole that's just th's moment come on my knee. Mamma, I want boots next time. Don't you remember you said you'd buy me boots when these were worn out; but look at 'em!" And Josie's shoe, with the toe entirely stubbed out, was held up to view.

I declare if the remainder of that day, every member of my own family, and every person of my acquaintance didn't either want something that I was expected to furnish, or else had unredeemed promises to remind me of! I believe it is always thus.

Some one will probably suggest that no person is excusable for attempting to take more of a burden upon themselves than they are able to carry. Perhaps not; but contact with the rough edges of the world has taught me this much—that if our poor, sick and imbecile waited for the strong and wealthy to take their cases in hand, they'd wait. This woman and child I had accepted as a direct present from the hand of God, and if nothing else, would do, I would divide with her—but not if it could be avoided, because as I looked at the flaxen heads, ranged round, with their toys and books, and noted their precious youthful prattle—I understood my first duty. And so I thought late into the night, and the decision my heart and conscience arrived at was to go begging next day, and raise money enough to make the desired improvement in my friend's condition.

I wonder if every one hates to beg as I do? Once, in the extremest want, I was offered a soliciting position in a certain suburban church, for which said church would fairly remunerate me. I started, "solicited" just three times, and returned to the worthy deacon with my letters of introduction, saying, "mid a storm of

tears in which I am forced to admit there was quite as much temper as sorrow: "Sir, I am much obliged to you, but I'd rather starve, freeze, be burnt at the stake, and suffer a pretty warm purgatory, and"—

"Yes, my dear madam," he interrupted, well understanding my vulnerable spot, "But your children?"

"I don't care! I'll put every one of them in an orphan asylum, and take in house-cleaning, before I'll do any more of it." And I walked from the deacon's presence, without a dollar in my pocket. The good man evidently thought me a splendid candidate for Bloomingdale.

I wonder how folks continually do so many things from which their natures revolt! I wonder if it will always be so? I wonder if we take poverty and misery over the river with us?

(To be Continued.)

## OUR ENGLISH CORRESPONDENCE.

### LETTER XVII.

MANCHESTER, April 24th, 1869.

ON Wednesday last the *Married Woman's Property Bill* was read a second time in the House of Commons and referred to a select committee. The debate which produced this favorable result was a very animated one, and occupied the House most of the sitting. Some of the ablest speeches ever delivered on the question were made on this occasion. In the words of the "Own Correspondent" of the newspapers, "the predominance, both in argument and eloquence, was on the side of the champions of the fair sex." Mr. Russell Gurney's speech, on moving the second reading of the bill, was really an excellent one. After referring to the details of the bill, he cited some cases of hardship caused by the present state of the law, and in doing so almost broke down under the influence of the deep emotion with which he was visibly affected. It had been arranged that Mr. Jacob Bright should second the motion, but he waived his right to do so in favor of Mr. Jessel, Q.C., the member for Dover, an eminent barrister and a most valuable adherent, both on account of his abilities and his legal knowledge. Mr. Bright's courtesy in giving place to Mr. Jessel no doubt lost us an excellent speech from one who takes the most radical view of Equal Rights and who is well up in this question from careful study of it, as well as from having served on the Committee of Inquiry last session. Mr. Jessel, whose position as a lawyer gave weight to his words, argued at great length against the objections from the practice of the Roman law. He reminded the House that among the higher classes the property of married women was already protected by settlements, and recommended the extension of these advantages to the other classes by means less cumbersome and expensive. He showed that in several foreign countries, in Canada and the United States this reform had, to a great extent, been adopted, and that all experience was in its favor. He concluded with the remark that if the bill passed it would do much to raise the status of married women, especially amongst the lower orders, and teach their husbands to treat them with greater respect and consideration. The opponents of the measure grounded their objections mainly on the belief that it is calculated to effect a social revolution. It may well be asked in reply if a social revolution, in this matter, would not be a most desirable consummation? The debate was continued by Mr. Lefevre, Sir F. Gold-

amid the Solicitor-General, whose speech was very beautiful, at once powerful and persuasive, and others in support of the bill, and by Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Honley and others against it.

Above sixty petitions, from different parts of the country, were presented in support of this second reading of the bill. We may regard the progress it has made as an indication of more enlightened public opinion on the Woman question. It has been remarked that the new House of Commons is more Radical than any we have had for many years past. In an excellent article on the Wives' Property Bill, the *London Spectator* has made use of this question to illustrate the Radical character of the present Parliament in the following striking remarks:

If a Radical is a man disposed to try every institution by its results, without reference to any consideration, except those results, then this House is clearly Radical. Take, for example, the debate of Wednesday upon the second reading of the bill for securing the property of married women, and mark the change which has passed over the spirit of the legislature. The debate was as hot as ever, but the old arguments were all laid aside. Nobody asserted the divine right of a husband to confiscate the wife's property, or described the family as an institution beyond discussion, or predicted that the new law would weaken the authority of Scripture, and therefore of the church, and therefore of the constitution. There were no menaces of divine wrath, no talk about sacrilege, no insinuations that the defenders of the bill were hostile to Christian marriage. There were plenty of speakers to resist the bill, but they spoke against it as politicians discussing an injurious or imperfect measure, not as priests denouncing vengeance upon all who might approach the ark.

Madame Bodichon has just brought out a new edition of her valuable pamphlet—"A Brief Summary in plain language of the most important Laws of England concerning Women, together with a few observations thereon." It contains a succinct statement of the existing laws respecting women in England in their various conditions as Queen Regnant—Queen Consort—Single Women—Married Women—Women as agents, trustees, and executrices—Women in relation to separation and divorce—and Widows. From Mme. Bodichon's "Remarks," which follow the "Summary," I have chosen a few passages that will interest you:

In my opinion, the most important of the grievances, caused by the legal position of women, is the fact that they have no voice, and no influence, recognized by the law, in the election of the representatives of the people, while they are otherwise acknowledged as responsible citizens, are eligible for many public offices, and required to pay all taxes. The very fact, that, though householders and taxpayers, they have not equal privileges with male householders and taxpayers, casts a kind of slur on the value of their opinions; and I may remark in passing, that what is treated as of no value is apt to grow valueless. Citizenship is an honor, and not to have the full rights of a citizen is a want of honor. Obvious it may not be, but by a subtle and sure process, those who, without their own consent and without sufficient reason, are debarred from full participation in the rights and duties of a citizen, lose more or less of special consideration and esteem. And among all the reasons for giving women votes, the one which appears to me the strangest, is that of the influence it might be expected to have in increasing public spirit. Patriotism, a healthy, lively, intelligent interest in everything which concerns the nation to which we belong, and our unselfish devotion to the public service—these are the qualities which make a people great and happy; these are the virtues which ought to be most sedulously cultivated in all classes of the community. And I know no better means, at this present time, of counteracting the tendency to prefer narrow private ends to the public good, than this of giving to all women, duly qualified, a direct and conscious participation in political affairs. Give some women votes, and it will tend to make all women think seriously of the concerns of the nation at large, and their interest having once been fairly aroused, they will take pains, by reading and consultation with persons

better informed than themselves, to form sound opinions. As it is, women of the middle class occupy themselves but little with anything beyond their own family circle. They do not consider it any concern of theirs, if poor men and women are ill-nursed in workhouse infirmaries, and poor children ill-taught in workhouse schools. If the roads are bad, the drains neglected, the water poisoned, they think it is all very wrong, but it does not occur to them that it is their duty to get it put right, they think it is men's business, not theirs, to look after such things. It is this belief—so narrowing and deadening in its influence—that the exercise of the franchise would tend to dissipate. The mere fact of being called upon to enforce an opinion by a vote, would have an immediate effect in awakening a healthy sense of responsibility. There is no reason why women should not take an active interest in all the social questions—education, public health, prison discipline, the poor laws, and the rest—which occupy Parliament, and by bringing women into hearty co-operation with men we gain the benefit not only of their work, but of their intelligent sympathy. Public spirit is like fire: a feeble spark of it may be fanned into a flame, or it may very easily be put out. And the result of teaching women that they have nothing to do with politics, is that their influence goes toward extinguishing the unselfish interest—never too strong—which men are disposed to take in public affairs." Viewing the subject historically, Mme. Bodichon says: "As we look down the ages, we see all forms of coercion of the weak by the strong upheld as useful and beneficent. Women as physically weaker, have suffered most in the struggle for existence, of man against nature and man against man; they have been disposed of by the stronger sex, without much regard to justice or moral law. \* \* In the most ancient times of Roman history, women were always considered as children, and always under guardianship in perpetual tutelage, as it was called. This barbarous custom was brought into Europe by the great invaders of the East. These laws, very little mitigated, exist in most Scandinavian countries to this day. But from the mature Roman Jurisprudence it had entirely disappeared. We should know almost nothing about it if we had only the compilations of Justinian to consult; but the discovery of the manuscript of Gaius discloses it to us at a most interesting epoch, just when it had fallen into complete discredit, and was verging on extinction. The great jurist himself scolds the popular apology offered for it in the mental inferiority of the female sex, and a considerable part of his volume is taken up with descriptions of the numerous expedients, some of them displaying extraordinary ingenuity, which the Roman lawyers had devised for enabling women to defeat the ancient rules. No thinking person will affirm that human institutions are perfect for all time, or that any set of rules made by man may not, nay, must not, as years move on, be capable of being made better, that is, more fitting. Yet we constantly see long-existing laws and customs defended simply because they are existing, as if the very fact of being, proved them all heaven-born. Now, it is a fact, that good laws became bad laws by change of circumstances, and that the age of a law, or custom, is more likely to be an argument of unfitness than of fitness. A little child once discovered that "to-day is the to-morrow of yesterday." Those who stand still must remember we cannot stop time, we cannot rest here; there can be no living society that does not grow or decay, and it is for us to see that the changes are healthy growth.

In the last fortnight Miss Becker has lectured successfully on *The Right of Women to Representation in Parliament* at Newcastle, Carlisle, Leeds, Dukinfield, Chatham Hill, Longsight and other places. The two last-named localities are suburbs of Manchester. At Chatham Hill the Rev. G. W. Conder presided. He is a distinguished minister amongst the Congregationalists and is a man of vigorous and original intellect and liberal views. He is a writer of marked ability and an eloquent and fervent preacher, occupying an advanced position. The meeting was held in the schoolroom of Mr. Conder's chapel, and he opened it by avowing his entire sympathy with the object Miss Becker was there to advocate. The lecturer was frequently applauded. A petition to Parliament was submitted to the meeting and signed by the chairman. The meeting at Longsight was held in the schoolroom of the Independent church, also. The minister is the Rev. Wm. Kirkers,

a liberal both in politics and orthodox theology. Mr. Alderman Rumney, one of the "pillars of the church," presided. The meeting was crowded. There was some opposition, but it met with little sympathy. The Rev. S. A. Steinthal moved that a petition in favor of the enfranchisement of women be signed by the chairman and forwarded for presentation to the House of Commons. The resolution was carried.

Miss Becker was to lecture again in Leeds this week, and will probably go to other places as May opens.

The subject of your anniversary was brought before our last Committee. Miss Becker will, no doubt, herself tell you of the difficulties which lie in the way of her accepting your cordial invitation. Meanwhile, we have appointed Dr. Lees, the celebrated Temperance reformer, as our representative, at your annual meeting. He will report progress for us and hold out the right hand of fellowship in the cause of EQUAL RIGHTS.

The proposal of Miss Burdett Coutts, as a candidate for the office of Guardian of the Poor, in the Parish of Bethnal Green, London, where she has a considerable property, has given occasion for an excellent article in the *Spectator*. Years ago that journal pointed out how greatly the House of Commons needs a wife. Still greater is the need of our Boards of Guardians of such helpmates.

No superintendence would be half as ubiquitous, as searching or as relentless as that which women like Miss Nightingale, Miss Carpenter or Miss Twining, or many other female philanthropists, could establish if once invested with official authority, and scarcely any check upon corruption could be so permanent or so self-acting. The housewifely instinct is the very thing wanted to Boards of Guardians, and lady members would, moreover, have a relation such as men can never perfectly establish with the majority of the recipients of relief—women and children. The opinion is conclusive that women would, when weighed with responsibility, distinctly increase the business capacity of the Boards, and would certainly introduce into the Asylums for the poor the influence which is of all others the most required—that of civilization.

The *Spectator* recommends the subject to the advocates of a Female Franchise, and suggests that the visible evidence of woman's capacity to conduct public business would go far to modify public feeling on that question. It cites in illustration the power over opinion exercised by the Sanitary and other associations, managed by women in America during the war, and the answer to the charge of incapacity—that throughout New England the work of education is in the hands of women.

Here is an item of interest connected with the Higher Education of women.

**WOMEN AT UNIVERSITIES.**—The University of Edinburgh has taken a decided step towards the admission of women to its classes. On Saturday last the Senatus Academicus resolved, by a majority of ten to four, to admit Sophia J. Blake to the botany and natural history classes during the ensuing summer session. The application by Miss Blake, was to be allowed to attend these classes without formal matriculation, so as to test practically the question of the admission of women to the university classes. The application came in the first instance before the professors of the medical faculty, who, by a majority, agreed to admit Miss Blake, and this decision has been, as above stated, confirmed by the Senatus.

You will be sorry to hear that Miss Carpenter is on her way home from India in consequence of ill health. The doctors positively forbid her to remain in that country.

I am, very truly yours, REBECCA MOORE.

EDNA DEAN PROCTOR, the poetess, who is a native of Henniker, N. H., is about to make a tour of California.

# The Revolution.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, } Editors.  
PARKER PILLSBURY, }  
SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

NEW YORK, MAY 13, 1869.

TO SUBSCRIBERS.—HOW TO SEND MONEY.—For large sums, checks on New York banks or bankers, made payable to the order of Susan B. Anthony.

## POST-OFFICE MONEY ORDERS

may be obtained at nearly every county seat, in all the cities, and in many of the large towns. We consider them perfectly safe, and the best means of remitting fifty dollars or less, as thousands have been sent to us without any loss.

## REGISTERED LETTERS.

under the new system, which went into effect June 1st, are a very safe means of sending small sums of money where P. O. Money Orders cannot be easily obtained. Observe, the Registry fee, as well as postage, must be paid in stamps at the office where the letter is mailed, or it will be liable to be sent to the Dead Letter Office. Buy and affix the stamp both for postage and registry, put in the money and seal the letter in the presence of the postmaster, and take his receipt for it. Letters sent in this way to us are at our risk.

## TO DELEGATES TO THE CONVENTION.

I AM happy to announce that I have concluded arrangements with the New York and Erie Railroad by which delegates to the Equal Rights Anniversary, coming over the road, and paying full fare, will be furnished by me with return tickets, free of charge.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

OUR NEW OFFICE.—It will be seen we date to-day, from our new quarters, No. 49 East 23d street—third door west of 4th avenue.

## HOW THE WORKING WOMEN LIVE.

Two or three weeks ago, attention was called in these columns to the subject of Woman's Work and Wages. Since then, a Working Woman's Convention has been held in Boston, at which some of the most astounding disclosures were made, that ever fell on American ears. The convention itself was every way peculiar. It was called by working women, in the severest sense of the word. And the Call was to working women as well. There was no herald of great names, no sensational display of placard, no announcement of popular speakers, no promise of "eloquent addresses," and the gathering was down in a basement room, where multitudes are never expected, because they could not be admitted for want of space. The committee to call the convention was self-constituted and consisted of one tailoress, one sewing-machine operator, though more recently an artist, and the principle one, Miss Aurora H. C. Phelps, has led a somewhat varied but always laborious life, having been, during the recent war, a hospital nurse of much value and efficiency in the service, though like many others of the very best, but little known to the applauding world.

At the hour appointed, the proceedings opened, the number present, about twenty-five, nearly one half being men. By noon the number reached a hundred. Many of the hardest working women and girls, it was ascertained,

had been warned not to attend the meetings, or to testify in them, on pain of being discharged from their places. A long petition drawn up by Miss Phelps, which had been numerously signed and presented to the legislature, was read, after which an opening address was given (also by Miss Phelps), setting forth the condition and prospects of the working women of Boston and its vicinity. Miss Phelps said some of those who had signed the petition were living on less than twenty-five cents a day, or a dollar and a half a week. Many others were doing the same. Some were working for a charitable institution at these rates, the work being given out to prevent starvation, at such a price as that two persons working together and doing their very best, could only earn forty-five cents a day! Some of these are widows and orphans of soldiers who perished in the recent war, living in miserable garrets without any fire in this cold winter-weather, and with insufficient clothing. "Do you not think," asked Miss Phelps, "that they feel the difference between their condition and that of the rich, elegantly dressed ladies who pass them in these beautiful streets? For they, too, have seen better and happier days." But she said, "they work on bravely and uncomplainingly, in hope of a better time again hereafter, if not here." People wonder, and often ask, how these girls live on twenty cents a day. How would you live, she asked, on twenty cents a day? Rent is one dollar a week at the lowest, and whence then the clothing and the food? There is often no resource in health but the charities, the soup houses, and in sickness, the hospitals! And as for the hospitals, poor girls who have been there told her they would almost as soon die as go there again. These girls, many of them, cannot go into the kitchens and work, for they have never learned the business. Nor have they sufficient strength. They cannot go to the West for want of means. As well talk of their going to the moon. Living in damp cellars and cold garrets, we do not have wholesome or sufficient food. The bread that we get from the bakers is, two-thirds of it, not nutritious, and we cannot buy flour and make our own, many of us, for we have not fire. Nay, we cannot sometimes be even clean, for we have not money, that we can spare, to buy soap to wash our clothing. And this is one of our bitterest sufferings—worse than hunger, worse than cold, for cleanliness is one of woman's instincts. Often, when we go to the shops or stores for work, we have to wait, sometimes for hours, all of which is dead loss to us, for we have to make our minutes tell. When I was younger, girls learned full trades—now they do not—one stitches seams, another makes button-holes, and another sews on the buttons. Once girls learned to do all these, and then they learned to cut garments and carried on business." This system of divided labor within thirty years has resulted in a relative decrease in the average of wages and in quadrupling the average luxury of the community. And girls and women are forced into it, such is the power of capital. Eight thousand girls in Boston, Miss Phelps said, live on from twenty to twenty-five cents a day; burrowing, four or five together in a damp cellar, or climbing to a cold garret, with clothing, bedding, food of the very poorest. Warm under-clothing, which women do so much need, she said they never had. And when work is slack, the poor creatures have to beg, starve, or do worse. These things, she declared, "are no fiction. I would to God they were! I do

candidly believe, from what I have seen, going from shop to shop and store to store, that at least five or six thousand women are dependent upon these frightfully low prices for food, shelter and clothing."

The testimony of other women was not less appalling. Mrs. Ellis, a tailoress, said, "I have worked from dawn to sundown, not stopping to get one mouthful of food, for twenty-five cents. I have lived on one cracker a day when I could not find work, travelling from place to place in pursuit of it. Other women in the house where I live have done the same." She exhibited two sacks and two skirts that had been made entirely, hemmed, felled, gusseted and button-holed, for forty-five cents; and done for the Provident Aid Society at that!

Mrs. Curtis said she made shirts for eight cents apiece, and by working early and late could make three in a day! Even the contractor told her he hoped she did not have to live on what he paid her.

Dr. Dio Lewis said he purchased his clothes at one of the best tailoring establishments in the city, where they employ a hundred and thirty or forty girls, paying them four and five dollars a week. He asked the proprietors, "is not your work hard for the girls?" "Yes," one said, "very hard. If they run a sewing machine, they only last from one and a half to two years, though some may stand it a little longer. Their backs give out. Their spines generally fail first." "Then," the doctor said, "I suppose you put them at something else?" "No," the answer was, "when they give out, they are pretty much spoiled." "One hundred American girls," added doctor Lewis, "such as our sisters, cousins and daughters, if we have them, are taken into that great establishment, one of the very best in Boston, and in a year, or two years, are spoiled forever! unfit to do anything more but to illustrate how much a woman may suffer without complaining and without dying! ground up in such a mill, in one, or two years, and then thrown out to pick up what they can till God in his mercy shall take them where the weary are at rest!"

Such are but a part of the terrible revelations of that working woman's convention. Why should it not pass a resolution like the following:

That the white women and girls who to-day in Massachusetts give a fair day's work for thirty cents in currency, are as much objects of enlightened, philanthropic sympathy, as were, a few years ago, the negro slave women of South Carolina.

It opened its proceedings with scarce two dozen, in a city of a quarter of a million inhabitants, in a state of a million and a quarter. But so loud a wail did it raise, with only three hundred present at any time, and so just and righteous were its demands (presented in the most simple and artless form), for some kind of relief, that the very next morning after its closing session, it was admitted to a hearing before a committee of the legislature. P. P.

DIVORCE.—A writer in the Chicago Advance says he is astonished and pained to read advertisements like the following in the best dailies of that city:

WANTED.—Those interested to know that divorces can be obtained on reasonable terms by addressing P. O. box — Chicago, Ill.

The writer adds:

I look upon men engaged in this business as being little better than he who occupies the prisoner's dock

harged with the crime of manslaughter. They are criminals, for "what God hath joined together" they care endeavoring "to put asunder."

Is there not some doubt whether any whom God joins together ever wish to be put asunder? The *Advance*, however, is right in its estimate of Divorce brokers.

#### DR. LEES OF ENGLAND.

THE friends not only of Temperance, but of every true reform, will extend a joyful and cordial welcome to Dr. F. R. Lees, recently arrived in this country from England. So recently as that he could not be announced in connection with the anniversary of the American Equal Rights Association, although commissioned as a delegate to that body from the kindred association of Great Britain. Dr. Lees has been long and honorably known in both hemispheres as a valiant champion in the cause of total abstinence. To the abolitionists he was equally well known as a strong and persistent enemy of slavery, as well in America, as everywhere else. During the recent war of the rebellion, he was everywhere known as the earnest and constant friend of the cause of liberty and progress, attending and addressing many meetings in different parts of the British realm, to expose the plots of southern slave-holders in their daring conspiracy against the government, and their meaner intriguers and allies in his own country. The British Equal Rights Association could not have made a wiser or worthier selection to open an immediate and more intimate correspondence with their coworkers in the same great enterprise in the United States. His former visit to this country, on a mission of Temperance, was so rich in results as to secure him the heartiest greetings and welcome in his second coming from every lover of that now world-wide and world-honored cause.

P. P.

#### HORTICULTURAL SCHOOL FOR WOMEN.

MASSACHUSETTS has set about the business in good earnest of a school to teach women to till the soil. The late Woman's Convention in Boston acted wisely in demanding it as one hopeful, indeed sure remedy for the present distress in that state and everywhere, arising from the great number of unemployed and destitute women and children. The friends of the new movement have had three hearings before the legislature, and the prospect is fair for final if not speedy success. The plan proposed may be gathered from the remarks made at one of the legislative hearings as given below. A friend informs me that she recently had a conversation with Mr. Cornell of the University, who expressed a wish that girls might be admitted there with boys, but he did not know what they could do to pay their way. The boys and young men, he said, could farm, and do many things; but for girls, he could think of nothing for them to do. My friend suggested all kinds of domestic and household work, not as means of paying their way through the school and college, but as a part of their education, and a most necessary part of it, be the girls rich or poor. Mrs. Stowe and her sister, Miss Beecher, are already locating an agricultural school down in South Carolina expressly for women and girls, with good promise of success. But I began in Boston and will hasten back there, and to that committee before the legislature:

Judge French of Concord presided, and a plan for such a school was submitted by Mrs. Cheney and Miss A. W.

May in behalf of a committee of the Woman's Club. They thought ten thousand dollars sufficient for the current expenses of a school of twenty-five pupils for three years, which would be as short a time as would prove a fair test. The sum necessary for land and buildings it would be impossible to state, as it would widely vary according to location. One hundred acres would be required near a market. The control should be vested in a board of from twelve to twenty-four ladies and gentlemen, and the officers of the institution should be a matron, capable of taking the general management, a scientific gardener, a farmer, and such teachers as the directors might determine upon. The school is intended as an industrial one, based on the great principles of work and self-support, pupils not to be admitted under the age of sixteen years. The course of studies recommended includes botany, vegetable physiology, agricultural chemistry, horticulture, with the sciences, necessary for success in its practical pursuit, and house-keeping. Among the elective studies might be landscape gardening, agriculture, French, German, drawing and painting of fruits, flowers, etc., without countenancing superficiality. The preference should be given to women as teachers, if suitable ones can be found. A course of lectures by eminent professors not connected with the institution was recommended, open to the attendance of transient pupils. Mrs. Cheney, Rev. Mr. Muzzey, Messrs. C. M. Hovey, F. G. Denny, M. P. Wilder, Gen. Newhall and Mr. Bowen Harrington of Lexington spoke in favor of the project, the last named gentleman suggesting that a large estate in Lexington had previously been offered for a similar purpose as that sought for by the ladies, and might still be obtainable. Mrs. Cheney and Miss May expressed the thanks of the ladies for the opportunity of being heard upon the important subject, and they were assured by the chairman that due consideration should be given to their suggestions in the committee's report to the society.

P. P.

#### A NEW LIFE OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.

EDWARD A. POLLARD has sent us some advance sheets of a work now in press, entitled "Life of Jefferson Davis, with a Secret History of the Southern Confederacy, gathered 'Behind the scenes in Richmond.'" The work, judging of it from the sheets already forwarded, will not lack literary ability, nor yet candor and fairness. The following is an extract:

Mr. Davis's record on the question of Disunion was greatly mixed and contradictory—one of those inconsistent careers which could only have been tolerated in the loose habits of American politics, that care but little for the antecedents of public men, have a very feeble estimate of consistency, and are prone to forget whatever is of record in the past, in the busy and tumultuous excitements of a strained and excessive partyism. Mr. Davis had first entered Congress as a fulsome, young declaimer of that easy and popular theme—the blessings of the Union. He had the sophomoric humor of "the glorious Union" on the brain. He sought to excel in the competitions of devotion to this idol of the populace, and this commonplace of demagogues. In his first important speech in the House of Representatives, delivered in 1846, he said: "From sire to son has descended the love of Union in our hearts, as in our history are mingled the names of Concord and Camden, of Yorktown and Saratoga, of Moultrie and Plattsburg, of Chippewa and Erie, of Bowyer and Guilford, and New Orleans and Bunker Hill. Grouped together, they form a monument to the common glory of our common country; and where is the Southern man who would wish that that monument were less by one of the Northern names that constitute the mass?"

Yet in 1850, he had opposed the "Compromise Measures" in the Senate, and was repeatedly rebuked there for the sentiment of disunion. In a private conversation Henry Clay had spoken to him in terms of mingled expostulation and warning. "Come," said the venerable Senator from Kentucky—eager to win another vote for what he regarded as the supreme work of his life, then suspended in a divided Congress—"join us in these measures of pacification, and they will assure to the country thirty years of peace. By that time I will be under the sod, and you, my young friend, may then have trouble again." But the ardent Senator from Mississippi was intractable.

THE Vermont State Prison contains eighty-two convicts, only three of whom are females. About the same proportion will be found everywhere outside large cities.

#### GOV. WISE ON EMANCIPATION.

A LATE number of the Atlanta (Ga.) *Christian Advocate* contains a letter from Henry A. Wise, out of which are taken the following remarkable passages:

The long agitation of the subject of slavery, its history before the war, and the war itself, convinced me that an exodus from African bondage was obliged to be by the Almighty hand of Providence. God knew what poor finite minds, north and south, did not foresee, that nothing short of fire and sword, of war and its blood and violence could emancipate negro slaves on this continent, in a country governed as are the United States in the form of constitutional republics, bound together by a constitutional Union. \* \* \* The war was a national necessity, permitted by Divine Providence to prevent in the end, I hope, greater evils than the war itself. \* \* \* Slavery was its cause, was our weakness, if not our wickedness, and God has purged out its sin and satanic influence by fire and blood.

Here are strange confessions, but not much apparent contrition. Why was "the exodus of slavery obliged to be by the Almighty hand of Providence?" Why could "nothing short of fire and sword, of blood and violence," accomplish it? It is not true that the terrible end was not foreseen and foretold by many "finite minds," long before it came. And of all the daring defiers of the authority of God, the despisers of the lessons of history and philosophy, and revilers of the anti-slavery prophets and prophetesses, for there were many of both, there were few that should be compared with this same Henry A. Wise. He was in the full vigor of his manhood when the anti-slavery enterprise was inaugurated in 1831, and he armed himself with whatever weapons the diabolical system had stored in its magazines. He invoked all the terrors of Lynch law, of riot, rapine and murder against the abolitionists. In the seven years' Seminole Indian war for the conquest of their lands in behalf of slavery, no more blood-thirsty monster was found than he. And the same ferocity characterized his every word and action in the subsequent Texas and Mexican outrages and murders (for they had no right to be called by so good a name as war), the Border Ruffian pillage and massacre in Kansas, the trial and hanging of John Brown, and the atrocious rebellion of the slaveholders until they were vanquished. It would be interesting to know precisely at what period in this remarkable history, he began to be convinced "that an exodus out of slavery was obliged to be by the Almighty hand of Providence." He surely showed no sign of such wise estimate of the case, before the surrender of his fellow-confederate and commander, General Lee, and slavery was dead as it is to-day, long before that. Of "its sin and satanic influence, which God had to purge out by fire and blood," no one can speak more experimentally, as well as truly, than Henry A. Wise. It is a good deal that he is willing to admit that "slavery was the cause of the war;" and that God had to resort to it to break down its power. But a little more of the spirit of penitence and humility towards God, on the part of the like of him and of the rebels generally, would, no doubt, be more pleasing to God, and at the same time greatly facilitate the work of reconstruction.

P. P.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNIVERSAL PEACE UNION.—One of the most important of all the anniversaries of the week will be this, at Dodworth's Hall, 806 Broadway, on Friday, the 14th, at 10½, 2½ and 7½ o'clock. An able card of speakers is promised.

## SENATOR POMEROY.

ONE of the highest evidences of practical advance of our cause is in the recent action of this distinguished statesman. During the closing days of the last Congress, when the Fifteenth Amendment was under discussion in the Senate, he proposed such an enlargement of its privileges as would comprehend Female Suffrage, and sustained his position by one of the ablest speeches ever delivered upon the woman question. This, however, but brought him up to the level of such reformers as John Stuart Mill. But when the effort was made to continue the discrimination against women clerks in the appropriation bill, he fought it manfully to a victorious end. This was practical service—as much better than theory as a dinner at Delmonico's is than a Barmecide feast. But he did not stop here. He interested himself in the appointment of Miss Van Lew to the Richmond P. O., and did not rest till her commission was signed by the President. And now comes the news that he has given the richest office in his state to a woman. What do old hunkers think of this? Let the dead past bury its dead. This act makes a new era in reform, it is a substantial recognition of the equality of the sexes.

There is living at Leavenworth a noble woman, whose heart was buried in the coffin of her husband during the first year of the war. Col. H. P. Johnson, who fell at Morristown in September, 1861, was one of that early band of heroes who prefigured in Kansas the final triumph of liberty at Appomattox. He was the compeer and friend of the Senator.

In giving the Leavenworth P. O. to his widow—an office worth \$4,000 per annum—he evinces a fidelity to the memory of his friend not less honorable than his devotion to the doctrine of equality. Here are two sentiments, either of which would ennoble any man, create a soul under the ribs of death, made manifest in a single act of this great reformer. If it were good to be a Roman citizen, how much better is it to be a Kansas woman?

Kansas gave 9,000 votes for Woman Suffrage, and her good Senator, hearkening to the grand chorus, responds by giving his best office to one of her noblest women.

Great heart, good friend, we thank thee in the name of all the women of America for such acts as this. Such acts, whether prompted by the memory of a dead friend or a living interest in our cause.

To the foregoing well-merited tribute to Mr. Pomeroy, THE REVOLUTION will subjoin the following testimonial in favor of Mrs. Johnson from the *Leavenworth Bulletin*:

Mrs. Col. H. P. Johnson was appointed Postmistress of this city on Saturday. No one could have been selected by our Congressional delegation who is more deserving, or whose appointment would give such universal satisfaction as the successful party.

Col. and Mrs. Johnson came to Leavenworth from Kentucky, in 1855, when the struggle here between slavery and freedom was most intense. Mrs. Johnson was the daughter of rich parents—rich in the possession of slaves—and her inheritance was in slaves. Though the daughter of a slaveholder, she was born an abolitionist, and when she came to Kansas she brought her fortune—some thirty slaves—with her, and true to her principles, freed them, thus impoverishing herself.

During the long years of struggle, between the North and South, on this soil for the mastery, Colonel and Mrs. Johnson always actively aided and sympathized with the party in favor of freedom. When, in 1858, a public meeting of pro-slavery men resolved to suppress the *Times* and drive out of town such men as R. W. Hamer, M. S. Grant, D. R. Anthony, Champ. Vaughn, L. S. Weld and others, for aiding Charley Fisher, the fugitive slave,

to escape, Col. Johnson came to the rescue, called a public meeting, and by the power of his eloquence, changed public sentiment.

At the commencement of the rebellion, Col. Johnson was one of the first to enlist and one of the first sacrifices offered upon the altar of Freedom. He fell at the head of his regiment, in 1861, at Morristown, Mo. No braver, better, or truer man ever lived than he.

Mrs. Johnson, since the death of her husband, has lived in this city. She is one of the noblest and truest women in our state, and our delegation at Washington have honored themselves, gratified the wishes of our people, and bestowed the office of postmistress on one of the purest and best women in our city.

**A WOMAN'S HEROISM.**—In an account of a series of brutal outrages on board the ship *Richard Robinson*, published in the New York papers of April 24th, the following passage occurs:

A few days after leaving Queenstown the last time, the captain's wife gained access to the stock of liquors, and dragging out two cases of whisky and one of rum, tumbled them overboard. She had constantly kept her eyes on the captain, and many times when he was committing the outrages and threatening to take the lives of the men, she interfered and checked him. The men state that up to the time she discovered the spirits and threw them overboard, the captain and mate were daily getting worse, and that some of them would surely have been shot or beaten to death before the end of the voyage, had she not saved them in this way.

Did that woman's intuitions mislead her when she took the law into her own hands? If action be the secret of oratory, how much more is it the secret of reform and progress? Why couldn't a little such wholesome woman government benefit this whiskey brutalized city?

**LADY VS. WOMAN—SENSIBLE COUNSEL.**—The *Darlington (S. C.) Southerner* discourses thus sensibly and wisely to the young femininity of that State in a long article:

Why should not young women fit themselves to become partners with their future husbands in their various callings? Why should they not, like their brothers, learn to do something by which they might lessen their burden upon society, or secure, in case of necessity, their entire independence? Our young women should get rid, in the first place, of the idea that the great object of life is to become merely finely dressed female idlers, or what they are so fond of being called, ladies. It would be well that this term were abolished altogether, or kept to use exclusively with the prefix of "fine," as a term of contempt as now properly applied to a class of worthless women. With the casting off of the word lady as vulgarized in our country, and the general assumption of the term woman, would come a better appreciation of her duties. Our daughters and wives would then be less disposed to live as if the perfection of their being was to be finely dressed and have nothing to do.

**THE TURKISH BATH.**—The *Massachusetts Republican* says:

The Turkish bath, as modified in this country, and given in both Boston and New York, is alike a personal luxury and a remedial agent, whose value ought to be more widely known and appreciated. Boston has two excellent places for obtaining these baths; at 1427 Washington street near the St. James Hotel, for women, and at 17 Essex street, for men; and we can honestly and heartily commend the trial of them to all well people and most invalids.

**WHO CARES?**—The papers say a young girl was turned out of a boarding-house near Petroleum Centre, Pa., because she had been deceived and wronged. Going to a deserted engine-house, she gave birth to a child. Nobody came to her aid, and the child died. She was finally discovered by a Good Samaritan and taken care of, but it is said she will probably die.

**SALESWOMEN.**—The *Boston Daily Advertiser* has opened its eyes to the business wants of women commendably wide. Frequent articles find its columns like one of which the following is an extract:

There is a large class who, in the opinion of many physicians, do not get the sympathy they deserve. I refer to the sales-girls in our large shops, who are obliged to stand (sitting would make trade appear dull) from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., excepting, of course, the time for dinner. These girls earn from five to seven dollars a week, according to their value to their employers—only the cleverest earning the latter. Some who live with their parents can get along with tolerable ease; but the average cost of board for those supporting themselves is five dollars a week. This leaves from nothing to two dollars a week for clothing, incidental expenses, and savings, supposing the girls to have constant employment and perpetual good health. Considering the public position in which they are placed, and the necessity for better dressing, the sales-girls would seem more exposed to temptation than even the poorer paid sewing girl. Whether the constant standing position be not as injurious physiologically as the use of the sewing-machine, is a question for medical discussion.

The following is an extract of a private letter from a young school teacher in Illinois, a native of New England:

In complying with an invitation to address a Teachers' Institute in this county a short time ago, I made the Woman's suffrage question my subject—an extraneous one, perhaps, for that occasion, but one on which I thought people needed stirring up as much as I knew of. I have since responded to a request to repeat the lecture in another town, and have now upon my hands requests from a couple of Lyceum Associations to the same effect. So you see the people are willing to hear, if not to believe. I find a deal of sympathy with the movement, however, even among people where it would hardly be expected. The Chicago Conventions did a great work in waking up the mind of the northwest to a sense of its importance.

**"THE SHIFTLSS NIGGER."**—A correspondent of the *N. Y. Commercial Advertiser*, writing from Savannah, Ga., says:

Fifteen thousand colored persons in the South have at the present time on deposit with the National Freedman's Savings and Trust Company and its twenty-three branches in the Southern States \$1,150,429 92. The average to each is \$76.70. During the month of March last the gain in deposits was nearly \$74,000. Much of this gain was from new depositors. From my own knowledge and experience in this line, in one of the principal cities of the South, I can confidently express the opinion that were all the colored people in the South who have money—gold, silver, and currency—buried in the ground, and stowed away in their houses, to deposit it at once in the Freedman's Savings Bank, the number of depositors would be at least 250,000, and the deposits, at the average now existing, would reach nearly twenty millions of dollars.

**THE POLITICAL COMMONWEALTH.**—A new political Association was organized last week in this city at No. 35 East Twenty-seventh st., which is designated "The Political Commonwealth." Its members pledge their earnest efforts to elect members to the Municipal, State, and National Legislatures who will faithfully represent the principles of equal rights, prevent corruption, and secure the most worthy citizens as public servants. The following Delegates to represent the Association at the American Equal Rights Convention, to be held on the 12th of May, were elected: Messrs. Davis, Thompson, and Mrs. Davis.

In a communication to the *St. Louis Westliche Post*, 40 young Germans of Kansas City, Mo., complain of a want of young women at the latter place, and invite marriageable, especially German women, to come there, promising to marry them right off.

## THE WAY OFFICIALS TREAT WOMEN.

It has been said, women are unfitted to be placed on an equality with men, because their womanliness would not shield them from the coarse, brutal treatment men receive from those who control them and execute the laws. The opponents of the franchise for women point to the rough manner in which police and other officers are accustomed to treat men who are excited or drunken, or who have been guilty of some offence, and they ask that woman be kept from these influences, saying that what saves her now, is because she is respected as a woman and accorded superior courtesy. Facts do not justify the statement. Facts show that women share with men the infamous abuses which they have no remedy for, and although a large minority of men may wish for reform in the laws of justifying inhumanities, they can receive no assistance from the large majority of women. An illustration of the way women—granted it is the lowest class, and they need help the most—are the slaves of the abuses of men was given in some remarks of City Judge Bedford, in the Court of General Sessions, a few days ago. He said:

I have always, on proper occasions, stood by the police. As a body of men I respect them, but I believe there is too much unnecessary clubbing of drunken women, because when I was prosecuting officer in the Tombs I have been there and examined cases where poor, friendless, ragged, drunken women would be brought in for disorderly conduct, and the officers, on cross-examination, would admit that these poor drunken wretches were asleep and they clubbed them awake, and their arms would be black and blue.

It may be said that men and women both should avoid getting drunk if they would not be clubbed, but how can that be done when the minority of the men are powerless to prevent the liquor traffic? because the most fervent power—that of woman, against the rum shops is utterly weak and unable to act upon the impulses of reason and conscience. When in a christian community women are clubbed by male officers, is it not time to ask for "fair play" or at least for a chance to "club back"? Could woman, when fallen and degraded, be treated more inhumanely if she was recognized as an equal? or is drunkenness the great leveller?

**A VALUABLE ASSISTANT TO LADIES.**—One of the most suggestive, complete and practical of the entire list of Ladies Magazines, is to be found in *Demorest's Monthly*. This publication has already taken the foremost rank as a Parlor Magazine, not only from the beauty of its typography, and its numerous and elegant fashion and other illustrations, but also, because it is so exceedingly suggestive, practical and varied in all its departments, as to render it very valuable to ladies of all classes. Published by W. Jennings Demorest, 838 Broadway, New York.

**THE SOCIAL EVIL.**—A most excellent lecture upon the "Social Evil" was delivered May 8th by Dr. Charlotte I. Lozier, at the Woman's College, corner Second avenue and Twelfth street. A large number of ladies attended, many of them being quite young. Extracts shall be crowded into *THE REVOLUTION* if possible. The whole is deserving of the widest possible circulation.

Mrs. VICTOR, convicted of poisoning her brother, and now in the Ohio Penitentiary, is reported incurably insane and in a dying condition.

**CHEAP CABS.**—The Cab system of this city is a disgrace to any decent civilization. I have heard it denounced all the way from Boston to Liverpool and from London to the Rhine and the Alps. If cursing it be a sin, the judgment day will be a scene of terror to myriads of travellers of this and other lands, and yet every curse muttered, was richly deserved. But there is hope at length, even in this long despair. For both branches of the Legislature have, at last, in spite of all opposition from stage, horse-car, hack, and whatever other interests, passed the act incorporating the "Hansom Cab Company," and thus "cheap cabs" which have long been the dream of New York citizens, but whose advent had hardly been expected before the Golden Age, are now almost, so to speak, "at our doors."

The main credit, it is said, of this new and grateful move in cheap City transportation, is due to Mr. E. W. Brandon, who prepared and engineered the bill, and appears as one of the corporators. Let the *Brand-on* his name be one of indelible honor. P. P.

**WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN MASSACHUSETTS AND WASHINGTON.**—Last Friday was a memorable day for Woman Suffrage. In the Massachusetts Legislature the Senate Committee on woman's right to vote submitted a favorable report. The galleries were filled at the time with women, who were barely restrained by propriety from giving a round of cheers. The report recommended an amendment to the constitution striking out the word "male" from the section relating to suffrage. Only one member of the committee dissented, a Rev. Mr. Dowse. He should be doused overboard. On the same day in Washington Mrs. Mary T. Corner, formerly of Cleveland, Ohio, appeared before the registration board of the Fifth ward and made a formal demand to be registered. She also made the same demand in behalf of Miss Clara Barton, who did not appear in person, owing to a temporary illness. The board received the demand in writing and promised to return an answer in sufficient time before the books shall be closed to permit their registration in case it shall be decided to register woman.

**MISS KATE FIELD.**—This new suitor for public favor gave a lecture last Monday evening in the Union League Theatre, in this city. Her audience filled the hall, and were composed largely of persons qualified to criticize. She appeared on the platform tastily dressed in white, and read her lecture seated. She maintained that woman had an indefensible right to speak before the Lyceum, and that her qualifications are equal to those of men. The city papers rang next morning with her praise.

**Mrs. ERNESTINE L. ROSE.**—Earliest and noblest among the workers in the cause of human enfranchisement, Mrs. Rose has been suffering for several months with serious indisposition. A foreign tour has been recommended to her, and she proposes to sail for Europe on the eighth of next month.

**A NEW ROMANCE.**—Kate Hunt of Boston, a young woman of good family, who has been missing some weeks, was found residing as a domestic in a Portsmouth (N. H.) family, the other day. She said she did it just for the romance of the thing. Let such romance have free course, run, and be glorified.

## FOREIGN ITEMS.

**THE PRESENT STATE OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.**—In the British Australian colony of Victoria, women universally assumed the right to vote some four years ago, having found that the law had, probably inadvertently, been so framed as to permit them. It works admirably, according to all reports.

In Sweden, chiefly through the exertions of the late Fredrika Bremer, an indirect right of voting was, in 1862, granted to all women, possessing specified property qualifications.

By the Italian Code, a widow, or wife separated from her husband, who pays taxes, is allowed to vote through such child or other relative as she may designate.

In Holland, widows and single women possessed of property, are entitled to vote on all questions of taxation, etc., likely to affect its value.

In 1867, Moravia granted the franchise to all widows who pay taxes.

In many towns of France women possess and exercise the right to vote in municipal affairs; and in one of them it is said that the council was recently composed wholly of women.

In Austria, women can vote as nobles; in their corporate capacity as nuns, and as taxpayers. In some cases, however, they vote by proxy.

In Hungary, up to 1848, widows and single women, who are landed proprietors, possessed the right to vote. They were deprived of it by the revolutionary government, and they are now petitioning in large numbers for the restoration of this right.

In Manchester, England, eight women whose names by accident were left on the registry, voted at the last election. Eight others, freeholders, voted in southeast Lancashire. At Ashford, East Kent, fifteen out of thirty-five, who were registered, recorded their votes. In Finsbury the same number also went to the polls. In Dublin one woman, and at Leicester three women, voted.

In Canada, women are allowed to vote for, and serve as school trustees. In Pitcairn's Island,—inhabited by mutineers of the *Bounty*,—the government, which is based on a written constitution, is shared on equal terms by men and women alike.

Women with a certain amount of property in Russia have the right to vote, though it must be exercised by proxy, a male relative or friend representing them at the election.

The Mayor of Nottingham, England, says that one-third of the electors of that borough are corrupt, and that in a municipal election 2,320 persons require money for voting. Both sides bribed at the last election, and the small shopkeepers were quite as willing to take money as the poor, if only enough was offered them.

**A GREAT QUESTION.**—The historian Froude, in an address recently in St. Andrews, gave some hard hits at the English Establishment, and the work which it fails to accomplish as a purifier of the public morals:

We have had thirty years of unexampled clerical activity among us: churches have been doubled; theological books, magazines, reviews, newspapers have been poured out by hundreds of thousands, while by the side of it there has sprung up an equally astonishing development of moral dishonesty. From the great houses in the city of London to the village grocer, the commercial life of England has been saturated with fraud. So deep has it gone that a strictly honest tradesman can hardly hold his ground against competition.

You can no longer trust that any article that you buy is the thing which it pretends to be. We have false weights, false measures, cheating, and shoddy everywhere. Yet the clergy have seen all this grow up in absolute indifference; and the great question which at this moment is agitating the Church of England is the color of the ecclesiastical petticoats.

**MORE ENGLAND.**—The Sermon trade is brisk whatever else is dull. Ready made discourses are supplied to clergymen by dealers at cheap rates. For instance, one "house" advertises thus:

Subscription, if paid at commencement of	
quarter.....	£0 13 6
Single or specimen sermon.....	0 1 3
For special occasions, club, missions, harvest,	0 2 6
For any particular local occasion, farewell ad-	
dresses, etc.....	0 10 6
Special sermons as required.	

An Exchange says, commenting on this sacred brokerage:

The circulars guaranty especial care "to prevent detection." "No duplicates are sent to towns, and special care is taken to preclude the possibility of the same sermons being preached in neighboring parishes; with this view the editor wishes it to be distinctly understood that all sermons are supplied on the condition that they shall not be used without his permission in any other parish than that for which they are sent." Of course it would never do for a clergyman to deliver his sermon from a printed copy. The folks in the gallery would certainly detect it. To meet the case the discourses are lithographed, and so made to appear as written.

**WOMAN'S RIGHTS IN PARLIAMENT.**—The British House of Commons, on April 14, devoted the greater part of its sitting to a rediscussion of the married women's property bill, which was brought in last year by Mr. Shaw Lefevre, and afterward referred to a select committee. The second reading was now moved by the recorder (Mr. Russell Gurney), and he put it forward chiefly as a measure for the protection of the 800,000 wages-earning married women in the country, and of the considerable class with fortunes too small to justify application to a court of equity. The recorder maintained that no other remedy but this would enable the wife to retain her own earnings, subject to the same liabilities as a husband. Of the extent and intensity of the evil he gave some distressing instances from his own judicial experience, and he showed that the bill was not only in accordance with the law of the principal nations of Europe, and of the United States, but it was an extension of our own every-day practice of settlements. He offered to refer the bill to a select committee if it were read a second time.

Mr. Jessel supported the bill, arguing, in one of his antiquarian speeches, that our present law was the relic of a time when a wife was considered the slave of the husband. He advocated the change because, among other things, it would raise the status of married women and would thus ultimately benefit the husband.

The measure was also supported by Mr. Shaw Lefevre, who referred at length to the example of the United States; by Mr. O. Morgan, Sir F. Goldsmid and the Solicitor General, who declined to treat it simply as a poor man's question, but argued generally that the property of a wife, rich or poor, ought to be protected as much as a husband's. Bill referred to a select Committee.

A RECENT obituary of the London Times contained two ladies, 85 years each, and one 81; and three gentlemen at 82, 83, and 85, respectively. A woman cut her throat here the other day on the 81st year of her age. General Jomini, the great French military critic, died recently at 91. But, for the capstone, we must go to Poland, where a man by the name of Lemen has just died in his 139th year!

**COLLEGE FOR WOMEN, AT HITCHIN, HERTS.**—Two scholarships, covering the whole of the fees for the college course (i. e., each of the annual value of 100 guineas, for three years), to be entered upon in October, 1869, will be awarded to the candidates who will pass the best entrance examination, on the following conditions: Candidates for the scholarships must be not less than 18 or more than 25 years of age on the day that the examination begins. They will be examined in not less than two and not more than three of the optional subjects;

The examination will be held in London, and will occupy four days, beginning July 12th. Forms of entry may be obtained on application to the honorable secretary, Miss Davis, 17 Cunningham Place, N. W. These forms must be filled up and returned, on or before June 1st. The examiners will be Professor Liveing, Mr. H. J. Roby, Professor Seeley, and the Rev. Sedley Taylor.

**BIRMINGHAM—PRESENTATION.**—Mr. and Mrs. L. N. Fowler of this country, though for several years past residing and travelling in England, after a course of eighty-four phrenological and physiological lectures in Birmingham, were made the recipients of a handsome testimonial by a number of the men and women of that city. Mrs. Fowler first acknowledged the gift in a suitable address, after which the Professor also expressed his acknowledgments in a characteristic speech. The proceedings seem to have been of a very gratifying character, and were agreeably interspersed with a number of recitations and musical performances by several ladies who kindly volunteered their services.

**GOOD.**—Secretary Boutwell proposes to prohibit smoking, chatting, receiving visits and drinking among the Treasury clerks during business hours. Why not let the reform become universal?

**MR. J. W. KENNION** has invented a screen for preventing casualties by the accidental falling of building materials while being hoisted into place. It is said to have been highly approved of by architects, builders, and engineers.

**SHEET MUSIC.**—Come, O come, my brother! A beautiful Temperance song; Words and music by J. H. McNaughton. New York: Pond & Co., 547 and 865 Broadway.

#### WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

LET those fastidious beings who have looked upon the events now transpiring to secure to women those privileges and rights, now withheld from them, with disfavor, read the unwelcome but too true statement of Miss Phelps of Boston, made at the Working Women's Convention in Tremont Temple, Boston, recently, in regard to the treatment and suffering of unprotected women in that locality. When they have read her statement, so unpalatable, and yet so true, let them ask themselves if southern slavery, bad as it was, ever produced as much suffering or evil as is detailed as being suffered by white, intelligent women and girls in a state boastful of its intelligence, refinement and wealth, to wit, Massachusetts. Only think of 20,000 women and girls, unprotected, working in a city like Boston at starvation prices from 25 to 50 cents a day, and at these prices without steady work! Only think of intelligent white women, in this free and wealthy country, being compelled to live on a cracker a day! Only think of women making shirts at 8 cents each, to support themselves! Only think of respectable girls working on a sewing machine, from morning till night, which wears them out and destroys their health beyond recovery, according to the testimony of an intelligent physician, in from one to two years, for \$2.50 a week, not enough to give them respectable board! Does any one of common sense suppose these things would be suffered to exist, if the different trades, business and professions were open to women as well as men? If women possessed the franchise, does any reasonable person

suppose that these monstrous evils would exist? They are produced by the helplessness of women, by their inability, from fashion and custom, to go out into the business marts and secure those avocations and prices for labor, which they might easily be qualified to fill, and which their services would readily command, if a different public sentiment prevailed. Intelligent men and women must look at this Women's Rights question in a broad sense; they must discard custom and fashion, and see if something can't be done to place women above the suffering and degradation which too many of them are afflicted with at the present day. Look at the fact that there are from 75,000 to 100,000 more women than men in the State of Massachusetts, with no direct representative power in the government, with a strong prejudice, equal to law, in force, that forbids their pursuing the various professions, which they might fill with credit to all concerned, and which denies them the right of waiting upon their own sex in the stores and shops, which they could do as well as men, if not better; which prevents their being clerks under the various state and federal departments, to do writing, and to occupy a large number of the offices, now filled by lazy men, and to receive the same prices paid the men for equal labor.

Let those who oppose, from sheer prejudice, the onward move now in progress to place woman, in all respects, upon an equality with men, go into our city offices, and see how many places, now filled by healthy, stout men, might be occupied by women, without detriment to the public service. Give them their just rights, and they would be a help rather than a burden, in a pecuniary sense, to man. THE REVOLUTION is doing wonders in opening the eyes of the people on this great question. God speed its progress, until justice is done to poor, down-trodden, suffering women. Keep up an organization and agitation, pour hot shot into the cold hearts of stupid men, who talk of equality of rights and deprive a majority of the human family, who have intellect and physique equal to the men, from participating in the professions, trades, business, and government in our boasted free America. E.

#### THE BENEDICT TIME WATCH.

THE enterprising firm of Benedict Brothers have now ready at their "up-town" establishment, 691 Broadway, an extensive and elegant assortment of Gold and Silver Watches for the Spring trade of 1869, to which they invite the attention of the readers of "THE REVOLUTION" and all others who desire a perfect TIME-KEEPER. Their stock comprises the various grades of the American Waltham and the choicest imported watches. They have also, in addition, a fine quality of watch which they have named the "Benedict Time Watch," they having the supervision of the manufacture of the movements, which are of nickel, which has proved to be a metal more durable than brass or other compound metals, and less liable to contraction or expansion by the fluctuating character of the temperature of this climate. This movement gives greater accuracy and requires less repairs than the others. Their stock of American Watches is unrivalled. All the various grades may be found at their counters at the lowest prices, regulated and in every respect warranted. The Messrs. Benedict Brothers have secured their reputation and extensive patronage by a strictly honorable course in conducting their business, selling the best of goods at fair prices. We feel safe in commending this establishment to the consideration of our readers, and would say to all, if you want a good, reliable Watch, go to Benedict Brothers, up town, 691 Broadway.

A DAUGHTER of Murat, the famous King of Naples, is principal of a female seminary in Bordeaux.

## "THE REVOLUTION" AND THE REVOLUTIONISTS.

THE following is taken from a New York letter to the Cincinnati Commercial:

The Scoffer opens the great door for me. "We're zoological in our tastes," says he. "I'm going to see the bulls and bears in council, you the wolves in sheep's clothing!" And before my indignation can find relief in words he's half way down to Wall street.

Good gracious, what a climb! One, two, three flights of stairs—low and broad to be sure, but sufficiently long, and none of the cleanest in the world. And crowded, too. Here are two portly, sharp-eyed, black-mustached individuals—sporting men, evidently; here a disheveled youth with long hair and dirty hands, rushing wildly down two steps at a time—Monsieur the reporter; here a bevy of trimy compositors, and a pretty blue-eyed little woman with a big roll of manuscript under her arm. What a multiplicity of brilliant signs—white, red, blue, pink; what dreary wastes of desks, papers, spittoons, inky and frouzy-headed men are visible through half-open doors. This is the World Building—the big, rambling box on the corner of Park row and Beekman street. It's as full of newspaper offices as a hive is full of bees. Here, peep into the Observer office—see Prime's venerable beard wagging wisely in a corner! There's the Scientific American, the Hearth and Home, the Turf, the Scottish American Journal, and a dozen more, and up in the ball of the World Croley's dumpy figure and handsome face are visible at his desk.

There's a peculiarly resplendent sign at the head of the third flight of stairs, and obeying its direction, I march into the north corridor, and halt before the door of room No. 20. With hand on knob, I pause—nervous tremors start from my *chignon*, and shiver and shake all the way down into the very heels of my French boots. What terrible sights may lie t'other side of that awe-inspiring door. Pictures of the historic strong-minded fill my imagination; grim and fearful ancient maidens in scant gowns, with a limited quantity of faded hair twisted into a handle on tops of their polls; obstinate and uncompromising damsels, gifted with an insane desire to do away with that very unnecessary animal—man. I tremble some more, then summon a show of courage and enter THE REVOLUTION office. Nothing so very terrible after all. The first face that salutes my timid vision is a youthful one—fresh, smiling, bright-eyed, auburn-crowned. It belongs to one of the employees of the establishment, and its owner conducts me to a comfortable sofa, then trips lightly through a little door opposite, to inform Miss Anthony of my presence.

I glance about me. What editorial bliss is this! Actually a neat carpet on the floor, a substantial round table covered by a pretty cloth, engravings and photographs hung thickly over the clear, white walls. Here is Lucretia Mott's saintly face, beautiful with eternal youth; there Mary Wollstonecraft looking into futurity with earnest eyes. In an arched recess are shelves containing books and piles of pamphlets—speeches and essays—Stuart Mill, Wendell Phillips, Higginson, Curtis. Two screens, covered with striped calico, extend across the front side of the room, inclosing a little space around the two large windows which give light, air and glimpses of the Park to the office. Glancing around the corner we see the junior editor seated at his desk by the further window.

Opposite is another desk—long, and low, and broad—covered with brown wrappers and mailing books. Close against the screen stands yet another, at which sits the book-keeper, a thin, nervous, energetic young woman, who ably manages all the business affairs of THE REVOLUTION. There's an atmosphere of womanly purity and delicacy about the place; everything is refreshingly neat and clean, and suggestive of reform. Ah! here comes Susan,—Susan the determined—Susan the invincible—the Susan who is possibly destined to be Vice-President or Secretary of State some of these days! What a delicious thought! I tremble some more as she steps rapidly toward me, and I perceive in her hand a most statesmanlike roll of MSS. The painfully crossed eyes scan me coolly and interrogatively, seeming to say, "I shall estimate you, your ideas and your principles, by my own standard of right and wrong. There's no idealism about me; I've no sympathetic conception of it in others. Things shall be as I see, not as you see, and I don't care a farthing whether you like it or not." So speaketh the critical, wary, gray eyes, while the pleasant voice gives a yet pleasanter greeting. There's something very attractive, even fascinating in that voice—a faint echo of the alto vibration—the tone of power. But this can be said only of her quiet conversational voice; on the stage it is somewhat harsh and shrill. Her smile is very sweet

and genial, and lights up the pale, worn face rarely—softens the rigid outlines of the high cheek bones, and makes one almost forget—not quite—the poor crossed eyes, half hidden behind their spectacles.

She talks awhile in her kindly, sharp, incisive way. "We're not foolishly or blindly aggressive," says she, tersely: "we don't lead a fight against the true and noble institutions of the world. We only seek to substitute for various barbarian ideas, those of a higher civilization—to develop universally a race of earnest, thoughtful, conscientious women." And I thought as I remembered the *Saturday Review* and the *Round Table* that here was not much to object to. The world is the better for thee, Susan.

She rises: "Come, let me introduce you to Mrs. Stanton." And we walk into the inner sanctum, a tiny bit of a room, nicely carpeted, one-windowed, and furnished with two desks, two chairs, a little table—and the senior editress—Mrs. Stanton. The short, substantial figure, with its handsome black dress and silver crown of curls is sufficiently interesting. The fresh, girlish complexion, the laughing blue eyes, and jolly voice are yet more so. Her conversational style is more polished and cultured than that of Miss Anthony, but it lacks the latter's downright energy. "Not quite so masculine," opined the Scoffer. Beside her stands her sixteen-year-old daughter—Maggie Stanton, who is as plump, as jolly, as laughing-eyed as her mother. The sensible practicality of the latter is shown in Maggie's clothing—the thick boots, the warm cloak and gloves, the simple hat. And in her manner, too; there is nothing of the *soulsant* young lady about her; she is yet a little girl, fresh, bright, aspiring and imaginative.

We study Cady Stanton's handsome face as she talks on rapidly and facetiously. Nothing little or mean in that face. No line of distrust or irony. Neither are there wrinkles of care—life has been pleasant to this woman.

We hear a bustle in the outer room—rapid voices and laughing questions—then the door is suddenly thrown open, and in steps a young Aurora, habited in a fur-trimmed cloak, with a jaunty black velvet cap and snowy feather set upon her dark clustering curls. What sprite is this, whose eyes flash and sparkle with a thousand happy thoughts, whose dimples, and rosy lips and white teeth make so charming a picture? "My dear Anna," says Susan, starting up, then there's a shower of kisses. When I tell the Scoffer this he laughs at me, absolutely roars—the great goose—and declares that I—I—I fib! Then follows an introduction to Anna Dickinson. As we clasp hands for a moment, I look into the great gray eyes that have flashed with indignation, and grown moist with pity before thousands of audiences. They are radiant with mirth now, beaming as a child's; and with the graceful abandon of a child, she throws herself into a chair and begins a ripple of gay talk. The two pretty assistants come in and look at her with loving eyes; we all cluster around while she wittily recounts her recent lecturing experience. One peculiar feature of her journeys, is the quantity of love-letters she receives mostly from beardless sophomores, and other tender youths of literary aspirations and small means.

They are all fearfully and wonderfully talented. They all look upon her with an adoration that can be equalled by few and surpassed by none; and—oh bathos, pathos, and the rest of it—they all want a trifling loan with which to start in business! Scoffer remarks that "it would naturally take a deal of sugar to coat such an acid pill as Anna." "Mad as twenty hornets" don't express my feelings.

As the little lady keeps up her merry talk, I think over these three representative women. The white-haired, comely matron sitting there hand-in-hand with her daughter, intellectual, large-hearted, high-soul—a mother of men; the grave, energetic old maid—an executive power; the glorious girl, who, without a thought of self demands in eloquent tones, justice and liberty for all, and prophesies like any oracle of old—the pleader.

May we not hope that America, the coming woman will combine the salient qualities of these our sisters? And with all the powers of mind, soul and heart vivified and developed in a liberal atmosphere, prove herself the noblest creature in the world?

And so I leave them there—the pleasant group—faithful in their work, happy in their hopes. I meander down the stairs vaguely conscious of a mission and a destiny, but unable to determine its nature.

"At last," say I, desperately, "I'll convert the Scoffer! He shall be no longer a scoffer but a Woman's Rights-er!" Brilliant idea! As I emerge into the street I see him in the distance coming up from the dangerous neighborhood of the bulls and bears. He looks at me critically, and before I open my mouth, says simply: "Ah, I see its catching," tucks my arm in his, and

away we go up town. I talk and talk; keep talking; talk some more, and have the lovely prospect before me of talking till doomsday.

## LITERARY.

THALIA: Woman—her Physiology and Pathology in connection with Maternity; with Hygienic and Medical directions. Also the effects upon offspring of Temperamental incompatibility between parents; with the Laws of true Physical Reproduction; and Directions for the Subsequent Management of Children; with an Appendix containing Medical and Dietary Formulas, and a Chapter on the Cerebellum. By Mrs. T. H. Keckeler, M.D. Cincinnati: published by A. T. & T. H. Keckeler, 152 Broadway. 1869.

A most ample title page, but not more than the work warrants. For here, at last, has come a book which should reach every family in the land that has, or expects to have, the rearing of children. And the work, too, as all such may most properly be, of a woman. For it treats of many topics which pertain wholly to her, and which can be thoroughly known only by joining actual experience to profound observation and study. And so the book was well and wisely named *Thalia*—a Greek word signifying femininity, womanhood; or in a general sense, whatever pertains to woman. The author says in her preface, "the object has been to render the book a valuable one to the family, especially to the wife and mother, and incidentally, to the physician. Professional technicalities have been avoided, so far as consistent, which is really one of the true merits of the work. Strip the three learned professions (as they are called) of their mere technicalities, done chiefly in most barbarous Latin or worse Greek, or a miscgen of both, and clothe the simple sense in simple words that every body uses, and everybody understands, and their mystery and terror would vanish like other goblins, and the world would be the better for it.

The limits of THE REVOLUTION do not admit of extended notice of this valuable book, nor are its character and purpose sufficiently literary to warrant it. But as this is a woman's book, written, too, for women, pre-eminently, it may be admissible to give the general subjects it so ably treats.

The opening chapters relate to Material Substances, Motive Powers, Vital Forces and Intellectual Faculties. Next comes a chapter on Reproduction, in several respects novel and most interesting, as well as instructive, in connection with which may be mentioned one on Temperamental Incompatibility, though not next in order; then follow two on Health and its Laws, and Disease, the series closing with two more on Physiology, covering a wide extent of ground, many of the views being quite original; after which, in a dozen or more chapters, the whole subject of Maternity is considered in a truly masterly manner, including as well the duties and relations of fathers, as of mothers, the rearing of infants, their diseases, and whatever pertains physiologically or hygienically, to the training of a family; some chapters in *Materia Medica*, Medical Formulas and Directions; and a most interesting and instructive one on the Cerebellum, to close; treating of its separate organs and their functions, the importance of their harmonious development and the dire effects in multitudes of instances, of their unbalanced condition, as seen in the prevalence of vice, solitary and social idiocy, lunacy and immorality in its thousand forms. For the rest, there is only room or need to say, that the book, though published in Cincinnati, should be on sale in every city in the country, and could be studied to infinite profit by every parent, guardian and teacher of the rising generation.

ANOTHER NEW NOVEL by Mrs. Emma D. E. N. Southworth, entitled "THE CHANGED BRIDES," is in press and will be published in a few days by T. B. Peterson & Brothers, Philadelphia, a large duodecimo volume of over five hundred pages, in uniform style with "Fair Play" and "How He Won Her," and sold at the low price of \$1.75 in cloth, or \$1.50 in paper cover.

A SUMMER RESORT.—If any of our readers who have business that will keep them in the city all summer and yet would like a country spot near enough to the city from which they could go in and out every day, we would recommend the Highwood House, Mr. Truman, proprietor, Tenafly, N. J., on the Northern R. R. of N. J. 40 minutes from New York.

WOMEN have quite as much interest in good government as men, and I have never heard or read of any satisfactory reason for excluding them from the ballot box. George William Curtis, New York.

## Financial Department.

## THE REVOLUTION.

VOL. III.—NO. 19.

## THE MONEY MARKET

was easier throughout the week, call loans being made on Saturday at 6 to 7 per cent. Prime business notes were discounted at 7 to 9 per cent. The weekly bank statement is favorable to a continuance of ease in money. The loans are increased \$8,051,212, and deposits \$9,944,572. The specie is increased \$6,813,854, and the legal tenders are decreased \$1,386,149 showing an increase in the legal reserve of \$5,427,705. The circulation is increased \$14,102.

The following table shows the changes in the New York city banks this week compared with the preceding week:

	May 1.	May 8.	Differences.
Loans,	\$260,435,160	\$268,486,372	Inc. \$8,051,212
Specie,	9,267,635	16,081,489	Inc. 6,813,854
Circulation,	33,972,058	33,986,190	Inc. 14,102
Deposits,	183,948,665	193,893,137	Inc. 9,944,572
Legal-tenders,	56,495,722	55,109,573	Dec. 1,386,149

## THE GOLD MARKET

continues active and advanced, selling as high as 139 $\frac{1}{2}$  before the opening of the board on Saturday.

The fluctuations in the gold market for the week were as follows:

	Opening.	Highest.	Lowest.	Closing.
Monday, May 3,	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	136 $\frac{1}{2}$	135	135 $\frac{1}{2}$
Tuesday, 4,	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	136 $\frac{1}{2}$	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	135 $\frac{1}{2}$
Wednesday, 5,	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	135 $\frac{1}{2}$
Thursday, 6,	136	136 $\frac{1}{2}$	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	136 $\frac{1}{2}$
Friday, 7,	136 $\frac{1}{2}$	137 $\frac{1}{2}$	136 $\frac{1}{2}$	137 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sat'day, 8,	138 $\frac{1}{2}$	139	137 $\frac{1}{2}$	137 $\frac{1}{2}$

## THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET

closed dull and weak. Prime bankers 60 days sterling bills were quoted 109 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 109 $\frac{1}{2}$  and sight 109 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 110. On Saturday sales were made for the Packet at 109 to 109 $\frac{1}{2}$  and good bankers at 108 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 108 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

The exports of specie during the week were \$425,899, making the aggregate since January 1, \$11,340,367.

## THE RAILWAY SHARE MARKET

was active and advanced during the week with frequent fluctuations and enormous transactions. On Saturday New York Central was sold at 180 $\frac{1}{2}$  the highest point it has ever yet reached.

The following are the closing quotations:

Cumberland, 29 to 34; W., F. & Co. Ex., 35 to 35 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; American, 40 to 41; Adams, 60 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 60 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; United States, 62 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 62 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Mott's Union, 15 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 16; Quicksilver, 21 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 22; Canon, 60 to 60 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Pacific Mail, 92 to 92 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; W. U. Telegraph, 42 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 42 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; N. Y. Central, 180 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 180 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Erie, 27 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Erie preferred, 51 to 51 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Hudson River, 155 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 155 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Reading, 95 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 96; Toledo & Wabash 72 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 73; Toledo, Wabash & W. preferred, 77 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 79; Mil. & St. Paul, 76 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 77; Mil. & St. Paul preferred, 85 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 85 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Pitts. & Fort Wayne, 149 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 150; Ohio & Miss., 32 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Mich. Central, 125 to 128; Mich. Southern, 105 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 105 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Illinois Central, 145 to 146; Cleve. & Pitts., 91 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 91 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Lake Shore, 104 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 104 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Rock Island, 128 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 128 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Northwestern, 85 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 85 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Northwestern preferred, 99 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 98 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Mariposa, 20 to 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Mariposa preferred, 45 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 45 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

## UNITED STATES SECURITIES

were active and buoyant, especially in the 1867's and 1862's, the former advancing on Saturday from 114 $\frac{1}{2}$  at the opening to 117 $\frac{1}{2}$  at the close and the latter from 117 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 119 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Pisk & Hatch, 5 Nassau street, report the following quotations:

United States sixes, Pacific Railroad, 106 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 106 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; United States sixes, 1881, registered, 118 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 119; United States sixes, coupon, 119 to 119 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; United States five-twenties, registered, 114 to 114 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1862, 119 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 119 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1864, 114 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 114 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1865, 115 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 116; United States five-twenties, coupon, new, 1835, 117 to 117 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1867, 117 to 117 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1868, 117 to 117 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; United States ten-forties, registered, 107 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 108; United States ten-forties, coupon, 108 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 109.

## THE CUSTOM DUTIES

for the week were \$2,593,026 in gold against \$2,241,519 \$2,677,669 and \$2,450,028 for the preceding weeks. The imports of merchandise for the week were \$7,672,849 in gold against \$9,703,932, \$5,855,230, and \$7,558,167 for the preceding weeks. The exports, exclusive of specie, were \$2,809,834 in currency against \$4,471,695, \$3,689,819, and \$3,617,338 for the preceding weeks. The exports of specie were \$425,899 against \$569,289, \$597,625, and \$68,575 for the preceding weeks.

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## THE AGITATOR.

DEVOTED TO THE

INTERESTS OF WOMAN.

The increasing interest in the questions of Woman's Education, Work, Wages, Social, Legal and Political Status, has led to the establishment of a Western journal, devoted to their discussion. It advocates the rights of woman in every department, notes the progress of the cause at home and abroad, and maintains a high literary character. It has been received with great favor in the West, has been widely welcomed as a demand of the times, and is meeting with extensive and generous patronage.

The AGITATOR is under the Editorial management of Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, and Mrs. Mary L. Walker. It is published weekly, and furnished to subscribers at \$2.50 per annum, invariably in advance.

## WHAT THE PRESS SAYS:

Of all the champions of her sex, there is hardly one more capable than Mrs. Livermore of setting the cause before the public in its true light. The AGITATOR, under her management, cannot fail to commend itself and the cause it advocates to all right-thinking persons. We wish it abundant success.—New York Independent.

We have no hesitancy in pronouncing the AGITATOR the best journal of its kind now published anywhere, and a careful perusal of its columns will most effectually answer the false charge that "woman has no logic." We wish it abundant success.—Detroit Herald.

The AGITATOR is just perfect—could not be improved,—so clear, so dignified, so cogent and logical. I do not hesitate to pronounce it the ablest paper published in Chicago.—Prof. Haven, of the Chicago Congregationalist Theological Seminary.

Mrs. Livermore is a fearless champion of the sisterhood, with plenty of brain and judgment, and the AGITATOR will make its influence widely felt. May its days be long in the land.—Chicago Republican.

The AGITATOR exceeds all the contemporaries of its particular school, in everything that should commend an organ of opinion to the patronage of the sex.—Chicago Evening Post.

The AGITATOR is one of the ablest papers of the age; clear, forcible and eloquent. No woman should fail to read it.—Weyauwega (Wis.) Times.

The AGITATOR is proving itself by far the best paper of its class yet made.—Chicago Correspondent of the Boston Christian Register.

Subscriptions sent to the Publisher,

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